

Towards a Society based on Mutual Aid, Voluntary Cooperation & the Liberation of Desire

#49/Spring-Summer 2000  
Vol.18, No.1

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# Anarchy

## A Journal of Desire Armed



**John Zerzan**  
Age of Nihilism

**Subversion in Seattle!**  
Lawrence Jarach  
ACME Collective  
Jonathan Slyk

**Majdoor Samachar**  
Banish the Present:  
Dance of Destruction

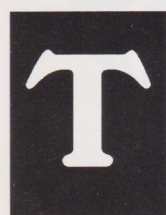
**Maziotis' Court Statement**

**And reviews, including:**  
No Gods, No Masters  
Polish Revolutionary Populism  
Defying Male Civilization  
RIP WTO N30  
Showdown in Seattle





## Snatching defeat from the jaws of victory!



he many-leveled success of the anti-WTO protests in Seattle has been met with a range of reactions from all the various social, economic and political groups with stakes in the progress (or lack thereof) and outcome of the globalization of capitalist trade. It is unsurprising that the direct action blockade of the WTO conference was vehemently criticized by those with conservative, pro-corporate views. And it's even

less surprising that corporate window-breaking, graffiti and the aggressive self-defense tactics promoted by black bloc anarchists spoiled the day for many people. Not only were WTO delegates, police, corporate businessmen and Seattle officials scandalized, so were the reformist political opportunists (of left, right and center) who were intent on co-opting the creative energies of the Seattle protesters in order to advance their careers as mediators of the industrial exploitation of society and nature. (You know the type: Medea Benjamin of Global Exchange, Michael Albert of *Z Magazine*, Pat Buchanan—now running as a Reform Party candidate for US president, along with a host of labor leaders and political, environmental and human rights reformists.)

But it has to be just a little surprising to most anarchists that there exists a significant—and sometimes loud-mouthed—minority of other anarchists every bit as threatened by the blockade and window-smashing as the cops who blew any chances they had to stop it all. Not content with all the biased mass media reporting and self-righteous recriminations from the opportunist left, some of these anarchists have taken it upon themselves to assist (in fact, if not intention) the corporate media in its work of disinformation. Incredibly, these self-proclaimed anarchists, would like to erase important aspects of the most widely acknowledged anarchist *success* in recent North American history.

For space reasons, I'll limit myself to one important example, Geov Parrish's anti-black-bloc diatribe in the *Seattle Weekly* (12/9/99):

"For 25 years, I have considered myself an anarchist...The direct action that shut down the WTO was the genuine anarchism in action last Tuesday. The glass-breaking and graffiti was, however unwittingly, abetting the state. In the face of this attack, there were some heroes. One story I heard was of Peace Action's Fred Miller, who, along with his daughter, held up a banner to protect the windows of NikeTown against the predations of the anarchists' hammers. Fred wasn't protecting NikeTown—or more accurately, their insurance company—he was protecting the integrity of thousands of dissidents' hard work. Despite the efforts of Fred, and the overwhelming majority of protesters who deplored the vandalism, a few thugs carried the day."

Instead of confronting the (often not self-understood) pro-capitalist, anti-revolutionary sources for most criticisms of the anarchist black bloc actions, Parrish misdirects his anger at the relatively small groups of anarchists who had the courage to actually take the initiative to (relatively safely) paint radical graffiti and smash some highly symbolic corporate windows. Portraying the craven submission of those who protect corporate property from radical attack as "heroic" in effect (once again, if not intention) always means reinforcing

the waning, yet still highly powerful legitimacy of corporate property and corporate (as well as state) control of resources within the dissident milieu.

In most such cases as in this one it is fairly obvious that there is an over-concern with how the mass media portrays anarchists—as if the mass media would ever tell the truth about anarchist critiques of capitalism and state, even if all anarchists were as polite and well-groomed as Mormon missionaries! And there also seems to be a large fear of disapproval from reform-minded environmentalists and leftists.



Despite the fact that anarchists often work with reformists—in too many cases, if only in order to have others to work with at all—we need to clarify that our solidarity is extended to them as people who have gained some measure of our respect for their partial resistance to capital and state, and not extended unconditionally when they are working for capital and state against more radical efforts at genuine resistance.

There will always be degrees of truth in many of the criticisms of radical actions, especially when they up the ante and gener-

ate controversy amongst more than the usual number of non-anarchists. However, we need to recognize that these degrees of truth remain relative to our goals. We can recognize that large numbers of rank-and-file environmental and leftist reformists (including anarcho-liberal and anarcho-leftist reformists) will feel threatened by anti-capitalist gestures that move beyond words to the realm of deeds, at the same time that many of them will be thrilled by their audacity. Most will harbor *both* rationalized, repressive fears *and* illicit, partially repressed thrills. It is clearly the task of would-be revolutionaries to help both ourselves and others ready to take further steps to recognize that this is what is really happening.

Anarchists, usually more than anyone else, ought to be capable and ready to extend the critique of state and corporate property and power as far as possible using whatever opportunities for resistance that present themselves. For example, imagine how powerful the effect might have been if Geov Parrish had used his column in the *Seattle Weekly* to explain the inevitable conflicts between reformist and revolutionary tactics and goals, expressing sympathy for the conflicts engendered in his reformist comrades, while criticizing their uncritical, highly conditioned loyalty to bourgeois morality, legalism and property. This was a perfect chance, while hundreds of thousands in Seattle were all ears and willing to listen, to help the level of popular understanding and resistance move up a notch. One perfect chance lost forever.

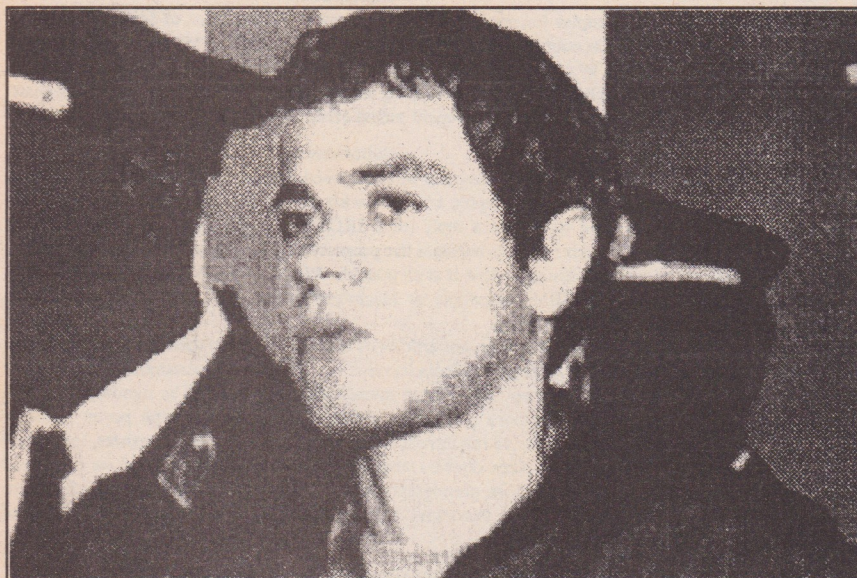
To show that not everyone in Seattle was overly worried about anarchist graffiti and corporate window-smashing, we should remember that one of the more popular and oft-repeated slogans in Seattle was the cheerfully provocative anarchist chant: "Capitalism, No Thanks! We'll Burn Your Fucking Banks!"

If we're going to bother acting as anarchists at all, let's not be afraid to stand on our own as comrades pursuing a revolutionary social project, who neither ask permission to act nor offer apologies to those whose complacency we threaten.

Jason McQuinn, Editor



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"The whirligig of time has its revenges."  
—B.A.G. Fuller



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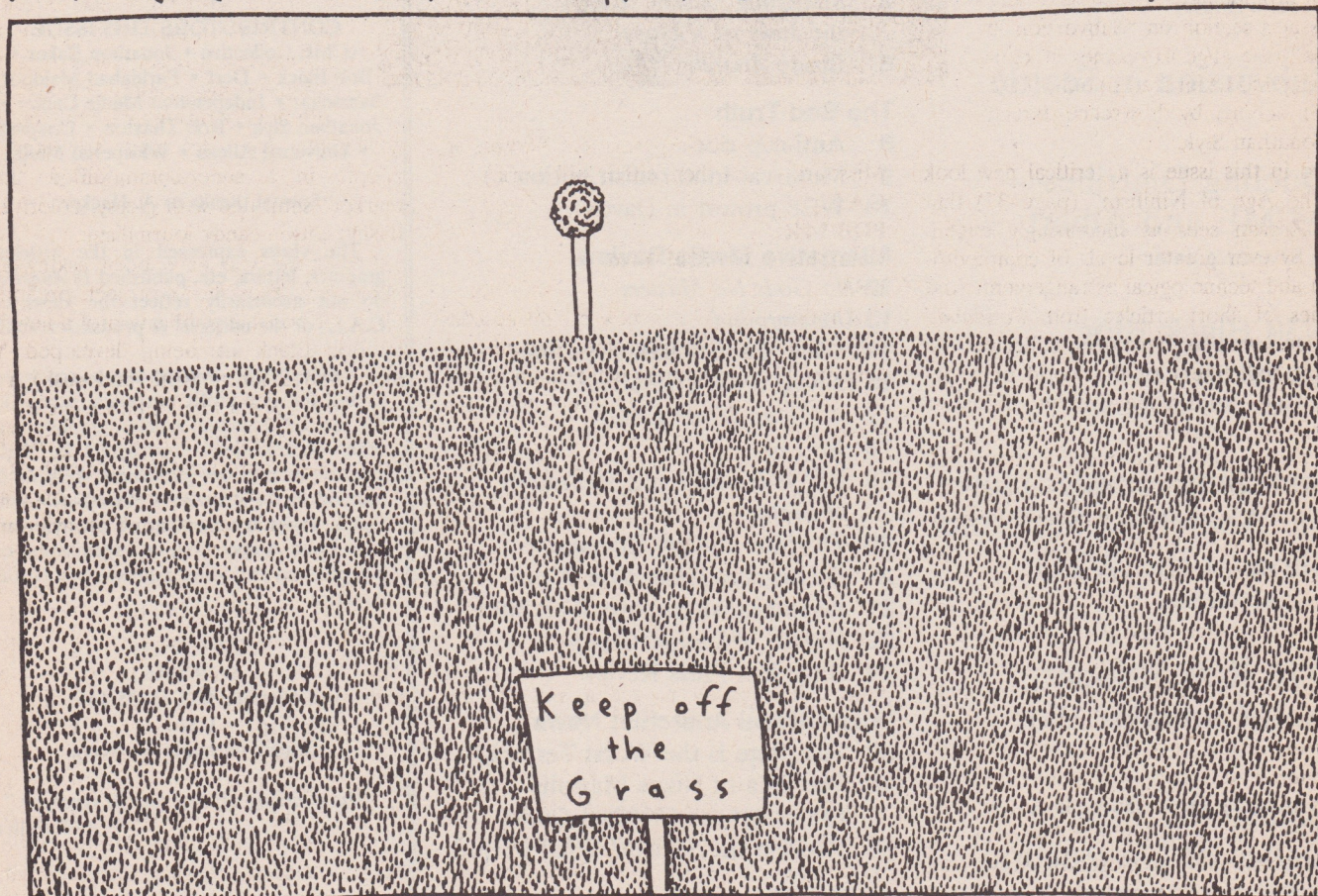
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Mr. fish



# Inside Anarchy

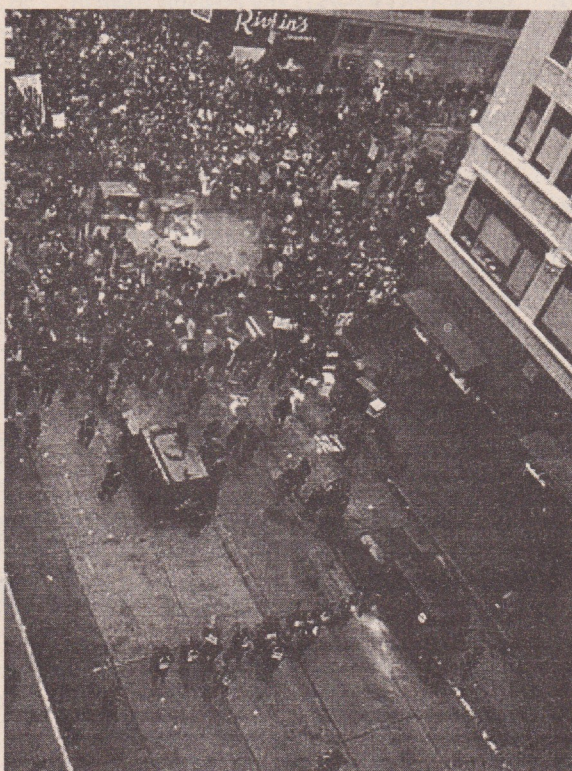
**A**nother issue of *Anarchy* is here as scheduled! As I mentioned in the last "Inside *Anarchy*" note, issue #48 was put together just before the Seattle WTO Ministerial was scheduled to begin at the end of November. So there was no way to know for sure what would transpire—the continuing development of an increasingly combative anarchist movement, or just a little more of the same. But history was made, and anarchists figured prominently in its making, which led directly to unprecedented disputes over anarchist strategy and tactics in both the radical milieu and the mainstream media.

Of course, the extreme controversy over the blockades and property destruction in Seattle has meant that much of the discussion has been hostile, as should be expected. And most that wasn't overtly hostile still remains problematic. Which is where this issue's section on "Subversion in Seattle" (see page 41) comes in, contributing important assessments of the Seattle actions by Lawrence Jarach and Jonathan Slyk.

Also in this issue is a critical new look at "The Age of Nihilism" (page 37) that John Zerzan sees as increasingly engendered by ever greater levels of commodification and technological estrangement. And a series of short articles from *Faridabad Majdoor Samachar* have been collected in a scathing indictment of the world of wage-work titled "Banish the Present: Dance of Destruction" (page 61).

Of special note, the recently translated court statement of Nikos Maziotis (page 28) presents an eloquent and moving defense of his actions in solidarity with the resistance to the Canadian multinational corporation TVX Gold in Greece. A 15-year prison sentence has been imposed on Maziotis by the Greek "justice" system.

Despite earlier thoughts of possibly making a permanent move to the San Francisco Bay area, it now appears that C.A.L. Press and *Anarchy* magazine will remain based in Missouri for at least the near future. The temporary Alameda address listed in our last issue will likely be closed by early June, so after the end of May please send *all* mail



to the C.A.L. Press permanent address in Missouri. (Until then, either will work.)

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Another change is a new e-mail address for contacting this magazine: [jmcquinn@coin.org](mailto:jmcquinn@coin.org) The old address will remain usable for several months, but eventually, the server will no longer accept it.

As many people have already mentioned, it's about time that *Anarchy* magazine put together its own web site. So for all those people who have offered to help with such a project over the last few years, please get in touch by e-mail or letter if you have some of the necessary knowledge or skills and are still interested in helping out. The time will be *soon* to get a site off the ground.

C.A.L. Press is now offering copies of the excellent Seattle protest video *RIP WTO N30* for sale at \$10 postpaid, or *free* with new 8-issue subscriptions or 8-issue subscription extensions! If you didn't make it to Seattle but want to experience some of the

atmosphere amongst the protesters in the streets, this video is a must see.

The fund drive for *Anarchy* hasn't been all that successful. But since I don't like the idea of asking for money in the first place, and I certainly don't want *Anarchy* to become the type of project that is constantly asking for more and more money in every way conceivable, the drive will not be extended and will expire as originally scheduled—some time after the next issue appears. Until then, we'll continue our request for support from all those in a position to help who believe we're performing an important, or even critical, service.

You won't likely find any other anarchist periodical project consistently reaching as many people within and without the anarchist milieu as this one. It isn't just a coincidence that *Anarchy* is available in nearly a thousand newsstands and bookshops across the continent (along with a few in Europe). It takes readable & interesting writing, comics and art, along with quality production and genuinely

challenging *ideas* to reach so many new people in a super-commodified "media market" saturated with glossy, colorful and flashy, cotton-candy journalism.

For those who have been asking about the C.A.L. Press book project, preliminary plans for possible publication of a new book by Bob Black are being developed. With luck (and a lot of work and cash) a new book may appear sometime this year.

In a conversation with a west coast long-time critic and occasional friend of this magazine, I have been reminded once again that too many readers don't always remember the difference between a house organ of an organization (a periodical whose purpose is to speak solely in the voice of the organization—or more often of its leadership) and a magazine (a miscellaneous collection of materials, often including many different perspectives, generally with a more or less central organizing principle). Obviously, this *magazine* is not and has never been the organ of any larger organization. It has been open to many different influences and perspectives (just look at what has actually been published over the years!),



## Openers

while remaining true to its more or less central organizing principles as stated in its subtitle and in the editorial description on the subscription page (p.83). So please take the following as a gentle reminder. None of the people involved in the production of this magazine will ever agree with everything that appears herein. There can be a variety of possible reasons for us to publish particular essays, comics and graphic art. But the reason is never that the everyone involved in producing this magazine agrees with every word! Enjoy the resulting tapestry of wit, wisdom, exploration and opinion.

Please remember that the C.A.L. Press/Paleo Editions book publishing project recently came out with the long-awaited second, expanded edition of John Zerzan's *Elements of Refusal*. *Anarchy* readers can get their copies right now by sending checks for \$14.95 + \$2.05 shipping & handling (for a total of \$17.00) to C.A.L. Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446. And while we're at it, don't forget that the last C.A.L. Press book, Bob Black's hilarious send-up of Murray Bookchin, *Anarchy after Leftism*, is still available for \$7.95 + \$2.05 s&h. And the first *Anarchy*/C.A.L. Press book (co-published with Autonomedia), John Zerzan's *Future Primitive*, is only \$6.95 + \$2.05 s&h.

### Support C.A.L. Press!

OK. Here's the second last official reminder that C.A.L. Press has an on-going fund-raising drive! We're trying to recover from the bankruptcy of Fine Print Distributors (our largest distributor until a couple years ago), which lost us roughly \$13,000. With the last three issues of *Anarchy* we've managed to make a small amount of headway against this deficit, which now stands at about \$10,500. We continue to appeal for extra support from anyone who believes that *Anarchy* magazine fulfills an important, unique role within the anarchist milieu. Our fund-raising goal is to completely make up our losses within the next year (before issue #51 has a chance to appear). And we want to give donors something in return for their support.

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• **\$10,000 or more:** All the above, plus the satisfaction of knowing that we won't have to bother readers by repeating this spiel in our upcoming 20th anniversary issue (#50), where this space could be put to a lot better use! Anarcho-millionaires (what an oxymoron), where are you?

Or please consider any other extra support you can give. Order a copy of one of the new C.A.L. Press books. Check out the other important books or the *Anarchy* T-shirt available on the facing page. Subscribe to *Anarchy* and our sister magazine, *Alternative Press Review*. Consider giving gift subscriptions. Order back issues you've missed, or a complete set of *Anarchy* back issues still in print (#8 through #48 for our special price of only \$60). Consider becoming a sustaining contributor by donating \$120/4 issues. Or just send us a small donation to help re-establish this project on a more solid basis. The success of this magazine always depends as much upon its readers as upon those who write, illustrate, edit and produce it!

Many thanks to all who have helped out in the past, and to everyone who helps us continue publishing into the future.

**-Jason McQuinn, Editor**

**Disarm Authority! Arm your Desires!**

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## Anarchy after Leftism

Bob Black's most recent—and possibly most entertaining—book. An intelligent, witty & compelling demolition job on both Murray Bookchin's atrocious *Social Anarchism vs. Lifestyle Anarchism* and his overall philosophical and radical pretensions. Highly recommended. (C.A.L. Press, 1997) 176pp. \$7.95 paper.

## Future Primitive & Other Essays

John Zerzan's latest book, collecting critical essays from *Anarchy & Demolition Derby*, including "Future Primitive," "The Mass Psychology of Misery," "The Catastrophe of Postmodernism" and "Tonality and the Totality," along with his "Nihilist's Dictionary." (C.A.L. Press & Autonomedia, 1994) 185pp. \$6.95 paper.

## Revolution of Everyday Life

Raoul Vaneigem's still-explosive masterpiece on radical subjectivity in a world of things and their prices. This book has been serialized in past issues of *Anarchy*, but it's well worth reading & re-reading. One of the two major works of the Situationist International, this text played a role in the gestation of the general strike of May, 1968 in France. (Left Bank & Rebel Press, 1967, 1994) 279pp. \$15.95 paper.

## Against His-Story, Against Leviathan

Fredy Perlman's most important work presents his account of the world history of civilizations from their origins as they devoured primitive peoples and other civilizations on their way to the dead-end we know too well as the present day. A poetic and deeply subversive reversal of perspective on history. (Black & Red, 1983) 302pp. \$9.95 paper.

## Letters of Insurgents

Fredy Perlman's fascinating & compelling novel of letters between continents revealing and concealing what is subversive and what is recuperated in the personal & public lives of two radicals—one American and one in Eastern Europe—from the upheavals of the '60s through the reaction which followed. (Black & Red, 1976) 831pp. \$12.95 paper.

## The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism

Fredy Perlman's penetrating critique of nationalism left and right. This is an essential essay for understanding nationalism without illusions. (Black & Red, 1985) 58pp. \$2.75 paper.

## History of the Makhnovist Movement

Peter Arshinov's inspiring firsthand account of the most important anarchist movement of the Russian Revolution, centered on the anarchist partisans organized by Nestor Makhno in the Ukraine, as they fought for their lives under attack from the Ukrainian nationalists, the Bolshevik counter-revolution and the Czarist White armies from 1918 until their defeat in 1921. This is an amazing and inspiring story. (Black & Red, 1987) 284pp. \$9.95 paper.

## Society of the Spectacle

Guy Debord's highly important masterwork updating Marx's theory of commodity fetishism for an electronically-mediated world. "Everything which was once lived has moved into its representation." One of the two central works of the Situationist International. (Black & Red, 1967, 1983) unpaginated \$6.95 paper.

## Situationist International Anthology

Ken Knabb's definitive translation and collection of the most important articles from the S.I.'s French journal, including those by Asger Jorn, Ivan Chitchevlov, Guy Debord, Raoul Vaneigem, Attila Kótányi, René Viénet & others. (Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981) 406pp. \$14.95 paper.

## Journey through Utopia

Marie Louise Berneri's thorough and perceptive study of the most important utopian writings since Plato's *Republic*. (Freedom Press, 1950) 339pp. \$9.95 paper.

## Against Civilization

A new anthology of "Readings and Reflections" put together by John Zerzan, including Hesiod on through to the "primitivists" of today, by way of Rousseau, William Morris, and Fourier, among others—51 selections in all. (Uncivilized Books, 1999) \$9.95 paper.

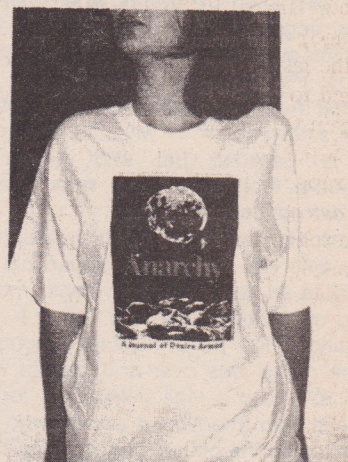
## Begin at Start

Su Negrin's simple, straightforward & unpretentious primer for integrating the personal and the political, written from a 1960s-70s perspective. (Times Change Press, 1972) 173pp. \$5.95 paper.

## Passionate and Dangerous: Conversations with Midwestern Anti-authoritarians & Anarchists

Well, maybe not all that "dangerous," but this new survey of the midwestern anarchist scene will give you a lot better idea of who is active and what's going on out there! (1999) 70pp. \$4.00 magazine format.

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#49



# Anti-Cop Riot

Michael William

**M**ontreal's annual anti-police-brutality demos, held on March 15, are renowned for their explosive character. So charged is the atmosphere at these events that they might be termed riots waiting to happen.

Usually the lid remains on, if just barely. But such was not the case this time around.

The traditional starting point for the demo was a square which is a hang-out for punks and street people. Busloads of demonstrators were to arrive from Quebec City and from a region near the Quebec/Ontario border. Participants also showed up from several other parts of Quebec. As the crowd swelled to about 400, a number of people spoke at an open mike.

Chanting anti-cop slogans, the demonstrators then moved into the street. Along the trajectory, cruisers prowling nearby would be kept at bay with rocks, chunks of ice, snowballs and paint balls.

On Saint-Laurent Boulevard, a main artery, the demo halted at the spot where a youth had been slain by a cop after allegedly stealing some clothes. Following a couple of speeches people marched to Station 19, a small "community police station" located on the ground floor of an apartment complex. At the copshop, Citizens Opposed to Police Brutality (COBP), the group organizing the demo, had intended to demand the names of the two cops who inflicted lethal wounds on a homeless man (the unidentified cops in question were believed to work at that precinct).

The organizers' plans, however, were quickly overtaken by events when demonstrators began to pelt the copshop with projectiles such as beer bottles and paint balloons. People wearing masks then approached the windows and began to systematically smash them in with clubs, squeegees, a baseball bat and a set of numchucks. Cops who were spied lurking inside did not venture out.

The situation had now clearly turned qualitatively different. But the riot squad did not materialize as expected. The demo moved on and eventually came to a halt at a subway station. Here the organizers announced that the demo was over and people were invited to attend a vigil being held for the homeless man (mentioned above) who had been killed by the police. The vigil had been organized by Mouvement Action Justice (MAJ), a group which also deals with police brutality issues. (The MAJ's outlook is basically liberal whereas members of COBP are mainly radicals).

At this point a man asked to use the



megaphone and exhorted people to resume the demo. About 200 people decided to continue on, and others left the demo and headed into the subway.

People in the group still demonstrating threw objects from an overpass at a cop car below. The cortege proceeded over to Saint-Denis Street to a nearby McDonald's. Masked punks wearing profusely patched clothes warned people to move away from the windows which they then smashed or kicked in.

The demo headed to the other subway station which had been announced as the starting point for the vigil. However the vigil group, 15 people according to a media account, had already left. The demonstrators milled around and then turned onto Sainte-Catherine Street where another McDonald's was attacked with bricks from a construction site. A dozen blocks further along Sainte-Catherine another McDonald's was targeted and all its windows were taken out. This time no warning was given before the window-smashing, unlike at the other two McDonald's. Across the street from the McDonald's, large holes were punched in several windows of a Bank of Montreal.

At this juncture the riot squad arrived and surrounded the demonstrators. They started to arrest everyone present. A woman had spasms and subsequently fell unconscious after a cop used his baton against a pressure point behind her ear.

Two hours later, the cops were still processing people in a cordoned-off area across from the McDonald's. A youth ducked under the police tape and tried to high-tail it but unfortunately was captured and brought back.

The 112 persons arrested are facing serious charges such as participation in a riot. A police enquiry into the event has been called according to an aide to the mayor. The full extent of the fallout from the riot is presently unclear, but an initial result has been the breaking off of relations between the MAJ and COBP. In various statements to the media MAJ spokesperson Yves Manseau harshly criticized COBP for not condemning the window smashers, whom Manseau characterized as troublemakers who had infiltrated the demo. Some of the demonstrators "scare me more than the police" Manseau was even quoted as saying. As the old adage goes: Never trust a liberal!



Continuation of "Anti-Cop Riot":

## Quebec City Counter-Summit

The Montreal mini-riot follows on the heels of clashes with the police that occurred in Quebec City during a government-sponsored "youth summit." A counter-summit had been organized and a demo protesting the official summit was to take place outside the theatre where opening-night ceremonies were to be held, presided over by Quebec's premier.

The ruckus began when protestors used a section of the police barricades as a battering ram to try to gain access to the theatre. The far-outnumbered cops called in the riot squad which quickly began to copiously dispense tear gas. Following an initial reaction of panic and confusion, people responded with snowballs, chunks of ice and billiard balls as well as two molotov cocktails, one of which exploded just in front of the line of cops.

People threw back canisters of tear gas or buried them with snow. Demonstrators who were just arriving from Montreal and elsewhere joined in the fray.

Kept on the defensive, the cops were unable to charge. The clashes went on for two hours, causing the cancellation of the opening night ceremonies. Little property damage took place beyond broken windows at the theatre. A cop car was vandalized as well and at least two cops were injured by flying projectiles.

**"Charity is no cure for poverty!"**

## Montreal food redistribution

**A**t noon on Dec. 9, the restaurant in Montreal's posh hotel Chateau Champlain was invaded by a group of commandos who reappropriated buffet food and brought it outside to a waiting support demo. We then marched along Saint-Catherine street chanting slogans, eating and giving food to panhandlers and street people. In all, we were over 150 people, the commandos arrived at the hotel ahead of the support demonstrators who were driven in from the city's poor Centre-Sud neighbourhood.

To chants of "la charité ne guerit pas la povreté!" ("charity is no cure for poverty") and "la solution: revolution!" demonstrators passed around elegant dishes, announcing "Fruit salad here! Artichoke salad anyone?..." A lot of the food was wisely gathered in plastic shopping bags by members of the commando.

Today's action was a success given that

we stayed a step ahead of the police, managing to get in and out of the hotel and not being surrounded by cops. This is contrast to a similar demo staged two years ago at the Queen Elizabeth hotel, when the "Commando-bouffe" raided the buffet, got the food out, but a mass of folks were surrounded by the cops and arrested. This year's "Commando-bouffe: Take 2" was called by the Comité des Sans-emploi Montreal-centre (Committee of the unemployed of central Montreal).

The pleasant success of the action, covered by a fair number of TV radio and print media, is a sign that activists have done good work in anticipating problems that came up at the last food-grab. A clearer distinction was made between the support demo, which arrived just after the commando had gotten out of the hotel, and the commando. The commando people got to the targeted hotel separately and in several small groups.

People didn't stay near the hotel, but moved into the street towards Ste-Catherine Street, a major downtown artery. Copwatchers and activist media were there to record and dissuade any police violence against people.

Given the near zero-tolerance police reaction to demonstrations in this city lately, this radical action/demo was also remarkably well pulled off. By 1pm, we had reached the Radio-Canada TV/radio station in the east-end, and demonstrators began dispersing northwards into the downtown.

Food-grab actions are done during the Christmas season, when we hear all the crap about helping the poor and homeless. The poor should just help themselves, which is what they did today.

Considering that the amount of food reappropriated was relatively minor, and that it is likely that the Chateau Champlain hotel would need to press charges (wouldn't that look nice during the holiday season) the likelihood of charges and arrests seems small. However, we shouldn't speak to soon, we are increasingly living under harsh police-state conditions. This was a direct attack on private property. We can only wish that actions become larger, more frequent, more politicised.

We urge people in other places to start organising such simple, but powerful, actions as today's food-grab. This is direct-action, jam the system, fuck it up, rob the rich!

- Notre dernière guerre, La guerre sociale!
- The last war, the class war!
- Assez, c'est assez, La paix sociale, c'est terminée!
- Enough is enough, social peace: it's over!

*Reprinted from A-Infos. Originally posted by Bernard Cooper, Montreal, Quebec.*

## Penal Abolition Conference

The ninth International Conference on Penal Abolition is being organized for Toronto, May 10-13, 2000. With the theme of "A Call to Transformative Justice: New Questions, New Answers."

This Conference will examine the links between corporate dominance and the growing prison industry.

Since the first such Conference in Toronto in 1983, ICOPA has grown to become a world-wide movement to challenge the existing system of "justice" and imprisonment. From the first, ICOPAs have been venues where activists and theorists can come together, share their experiences, build their movement, and strategize ways to further their efforts.

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# WEF protest in Davos, Switzerland

## A Personal Account

**A**s there has been little feedback from the Davos demonstration against the WEF (World Economic Forum), here's my personal detailed account of a pretty inspiring event.

I came down to Davos with three other friends from Germany. We decided only at the last minute that we wanted to be there. I knew about the World Economic Forum and that Davos was somewhere up the Alps mountains in the East of Switzerland.

This year's demonstration was the third demonstration organised against the WEF, the meeting of the 2000 self-proclaimed world leaders in business and politics. In previous years, only 200 people made it up the mountain, holding banners in the snow, surrounded by a large police presence that wouldn't allow them to move and get anywhere near the Conference Centre.

This year, the WEF had a special significance, since it was the one after Seattle and we know that trans-national corporations (TNCs) and industrialised governments are still keen on opening more markets, enacting further trade liberalisation and finding new methods of capital accumulation as a (temporary) solution to the overproduction crisis. Even Bill Clinton made it to the WEF to try to convince the world business community of the necessity to go ahead with the Millennium Round. He'd never been in Davos before.

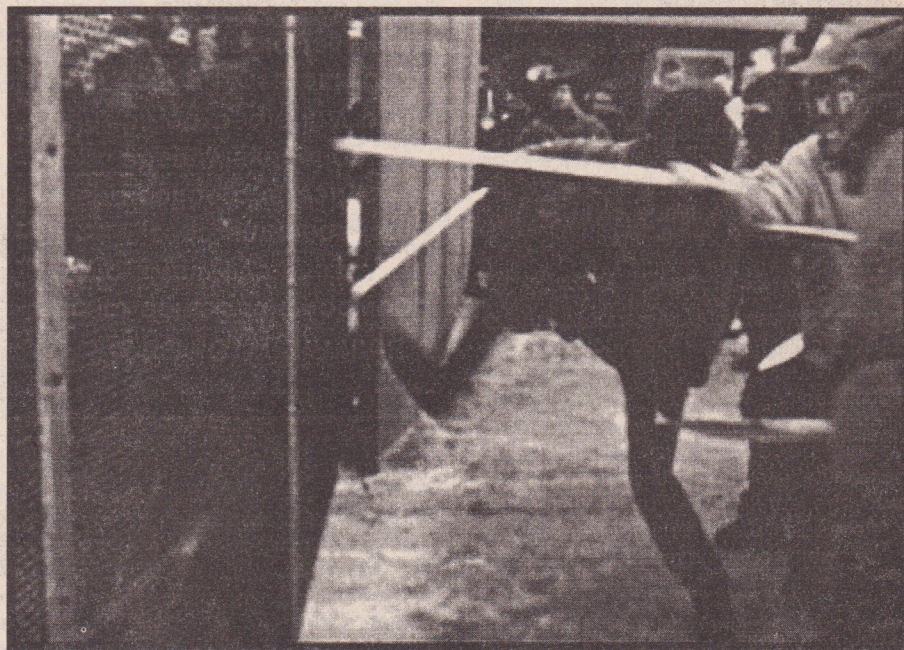
The anti-WTO co-ordination in Switzerland cleverly used the media to announce its demonstration. As a matter of fact the demo was prohibited for Saturday 29th, which was the day Billy Boy was coming. The reaction of the anti-WTO co-ordination was clear: no compromise, we'll hold the demo on Saturday, the 29th no matter what.

The mobilisation was surprising. Many people crossed half Europe to make it to the Swiss Alps. We ended up being 1300 people, from France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy...probably more.

Several busses loaded with people had arranged to meet beforehand and then make it in convoy to Davos, so in case the police stopped the busses, they'd be able to demonstrate together wherever they were stopped. Surprise: the police let all the busses come up to Davos. They were not expecting to see so many people. It seems to me that the strategy was the same as in Seattle, pretending to want a so-called "dialogue with civil society."

People gathered at the train station and as they outnumbered the police forces, they simply broke through the police barriers, marching towards the conference centre.

The mood was good, kind of euphoric.



Demonstrators weren't able to breach the third police line protecting the conference.

The demo was fluid, not divided too much into blocks, it had a nice diversity of people. And statements in French, English, Italian and German were totally natural for everybody. It had a clear internationalist character. People's banners and shouts were very diverse also, including ones which were anti-fascist, demanding freedom for Mumia, against corporate rule, in solidarity with the people in Ecuador, announcing TNCs won't rule the world, anti-capitalist, and the usual ones personifying social relations as evil capitalists and TNCs.

Jose Bove, the French farmer from the Confederation Paysanne was in the front of the demo. The French press has turned him into a pop icon of the resistance against global trade liberalisation. His strategy seems to have been one of being both in the street, doing direct action and trashing McDonald's, and at the same time being ready to engage in dialogue with Mike Moore and accept a plane ticket to Seattle paid by the French Ministry of Agriculture. The Bovemanias surprised us also, half the bus that had come from his region was filled with journalists. At the same time it was an ideal tactic to have so much press in the busses to make it to Davos. The anti-WTO co-ordination had a clear "no dialogue with the WEF" position. Jose Bove respected that and announced previously that although he had an invitation to the WEF, he was going to request Claus Schwab (the organiser of the WEF) come out

and speak with him in the street with everyone else. The idea was Bove would go in, only if all his friends were allowed too.

The third police barrier was the one preventing the demo from coming too close to the conference centre. The demo wasn't able to breakthrough here. Most of the people walked back.

The small group which stayed there included Jose Bove. They did not succeed in getting Schwab out and were penalised with pepper spray and rubber bullets. This was of course filmed by all the press and it was one of the pictures that made it to most newspapers: Jose Bove in his Asterix look in front of the police line, as always dressed to kill. The interesting thing is that the following day, a press release was sent around signed by the Confederation Paysanne, Droits Devant and the representatives from ATTAC groups that made it to Davos, urging the NGO community to stop all dialogue with the WEF. A friend of mine said "nothing politicises more than a police truncheon." Although this was all probably strategy, it will be interesting to see if these groups will continue their NGO line of pretending to represent civil society and willing to call for a citizens control of the WTO.... We'll see.

The rest of the demo walked back towards the hotel where WEF participants were staying. On the way McDonald's windows were trashed in front of the cameras and the police who clearly had an order not to inter-





The postcard view of Davos, Switzerland.

vene. A beautiful moment occurred when a few people tore down one of these huge McDonald's ads saying "think global—eat local." It was just such a provocation that it was enthusiastically torn apart by the crowd and the tissue set on fire. The big smoke cloud resulting from of this fire went straight into the windows of the hotel. People joked that "the ghost of Davos was exorcised," and things like that.

The crowd remained in front of that hotel for quite a while. Several statements were made in different languages. An amazing thing was that a representative of Ya Basta Milan who had phone contact to Milan announced that the 20,000 people protesting against the Via Corelli (detention centre where people are inhumanly tortured before being sent back to their countries) had managed to penetrate. "This is a victory thanks only to the struggle of the people," he said. A statement from the people in Ecuador was read out loud. Our resistance is more transnational than ever.

As the police were not doing anything, some people that were keen on damaging property and hassling the police helped themselves. Flags were torn down from the hotel and burned (the US and the EU flag of course). Cars were damaged and snow balls massively thrown at the police line in front of the hotel. Violent and non-violent convictions coexisted pretty well next to each other at that particular stage. Someone said "We are playing their game if we do this." I think most

people didn't mind property damage but felt uncomfortable with the fact that the violence was not used as a defence from the police.

In fact a small group of people took on two policemen. They injured both. These people hit a policeman even when he was already lying unconscious on the ground. This incident was condemned by everyone I talked to. People from the demo even started defending the policeman as he was lying between two cars. It remained also unclear from where these people came and what their motivation was, their act was simply brutal and has nothing to do with fundamental social change.

Result: the press coverage especially in the Swiss German boulevard press was mostly dominated by the pictures of Bill Clinton and the bleeding policeman. There was not one single picture of a banner. The articles reported only about the number of people, the temperature, the broken windows, the time, the street we walked and of course nothing about what kind of illegitimate bastards these self-proclaimed world leaders are, nothing about people contesting further trade liberalisation and capitalism, or about Ecuador, or Mumia Abu Jamal... ignored of course.

One bus coming from France did not make it and got stopped by a police barrier about 10 km. before Davos. The people got off their bus, broke through the police line and walked up the road provoking a huge traffic jam. They arrived in Davos when the

demo was finishing, but they felt that they had they contributed their bit, too.

Several people that had come a long way to Davos stayed overnight at the Reithalle Bern, which is a huge squatted autonomous centre. [For anyone passing Bern, I recommend you to have a look at it, it's huge and you'll find very nice and friendly people there.]

The Reithalle was a good opportunity to have more in-depth exchange with people. Something that became clear to me after talking to several people, is that Seattle marked the end of a period. The idea of Peoples Global Action was launched around the idea of focussing on the WTO and "free trade." This chapter is over now. Most people by now are aware that this is simply not enough: The discourse is easily recuperated by the NGO reformist community which goes hand in hand with governments playing the trick of so-called "dialogue with civil society."

Almost everybody agreed that we need to extend our discourse and analysis if we don't want to end up contributing to the stabilisation and modernisation capitalism. The WTO and "free trade" are nothing but expressions of underlying social relations in which we are all involved and which need to be examined, understood and tackled. If we don't manage to formulate what we stand for, our protest will be easily recuperated and incorporated into capitalist development. Quite a few people felt like using the opportunity of Mayday, 2000 to bring about more in-depth discussion and exchange with many different social sectors.

The spirit and mood was cool, we all felt exhausted but inspired. I came back from Switzerland with the feeling of having closed a chapter, and curious about the next steps we will be taking.

Love, rage and chaos  
Luciano  
Freiburg, Germany 2/2/2000

For more information on the World Economic Forum, check the official web site at:  
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# No Gods No Masters

Reviewed by Lawrence Jarach

*No Gods No Masters; An Anthology of Anarchism* by Daniel Guérin (AK Press, POB 40682, San Francisco, CA 94140-0682; and POB 12766, Edinburgh, EH8 9YE, Scotland, 1998) Volume One 294pp. & Volume Two 274pp. \$16.95 each, paper.

I hate sounding like a broken record when I review a book published by AK, but each time I read an AK book, the same glaring problems leap off the pages: spelling errors, typos, poor layout (spacing between words), inconsistent upper and lower cases. These are easily fixed editorial mistakes; all that is needed is someone with the expertise and the willingness to do the job properly and with care.

Beyond poor editing, the first and main problem with both volumes is not the nature of the documents Guérin chose for inclusion in his anthology, but their translation into English. Paul Sharkey has translated Guérin a little too faithfully. Since I am quasi-fluent in French, I could hear Guérin's typical French syntax in Sharkey's translation; unfortunately, such language doesn't work well in English. A less literal translation would have been better than reproducing the convoluted sentence structures into clumsy English. This isn't a huge obstacle to appreciating the material, however.

Guérin did a pretty nice job in gathering some excerpts and whole essays into his collection. Most of the writers will be recognized by anyone even a little familiar with the anarchist classics: Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Goldman. In addition, there are some personalities who are not as well known. Topics include the theoretical foundations of anarchism, the conflict in the First International, the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution (with both Makhno and Kronstadt featured), and the Spanish Revolution.

One selection is crucial for understanding that Guérin, for all his support and promotion of anarchism, was no anarchist. He has included in the second volume an important document from the early stages of the revolutionary upheaval in Catalonia, the "Decree on the Collectivization of the Catalan Economy." In my opinion this document represents one of the most counter-revolutionary acts to come out of the whole experience.

Not only does it legislate the limits of economic reform, but it implicitly excludes the sort of flexibility necessary for truly anarchic decision-making at the point of production. Only industries with a certain number of workers were affected by the decree; it only affected those workplaces that had already

been collectivized by the time the decree was enacted; it gave the Council of Economy of the Generalitat (the Catalan government) the final say in any new forms of collectivization that might occur after the date of the decree. In other words, the decree formalized within a legal, governmental framework, exactly what was to be tolerated and not tolerated in terms of anti-capitalist economics.

The implementation of the decree froze the process of economic reorganization that anarcho-sindicalists began when factory owners fled, were executed, or went into hiding; rather than allowing themselves to take the lead in revolutionary activity, some in the CNT (National Confederation of Labor, the anarcho-sindicalist industrial union) preferred to collaborate with the left republican small bourgeoisie (who ran the Generalitat) in limiting the expropriation of industry and the full implementation of worker's control. Rather than agitating for a totally collectivized industrial base in Catalonia, the CNT, in contradiction to their program, allowed themselves to be governed by the class interests of their statist opponents. Instead of worker's control in the form of a confederation of syndicates or councils, they settled for self-managed capitalism. Wage freezes, work speed-ups, unpaid overtime, denunciations of "slackers" and "shirkers"...all the characteristics of capitalism in crisis were the consequences of the enacting of the collectivization decree. The leaders of the CNT, through their newspapers, used the same logic as that deployed by the Bolsheviks in Russia: "Since there is worker's power now, why would you want to strike? You'd only be striking against yourselves."

Guérin's comments on this document are quite revealing. He says:

"...it can be regarded as the prototype of the legislative texts which, nearer our own day, have certainly and more or less satisfactorily codified self-management in Yugoslavia in the first place and later in Algeria."

Aside from this being a typical example of the convoluted language already discussed, the statist agenda is transparent. Invoking these two models of self-management inside

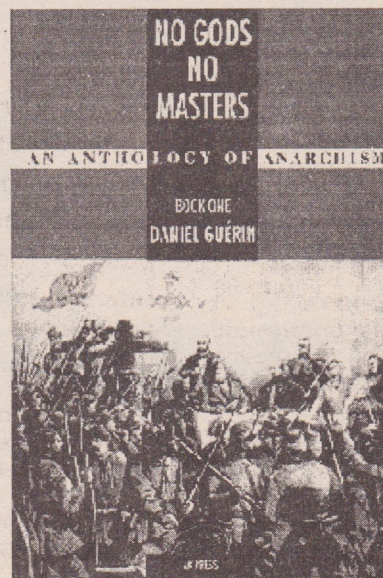
nation-states means little to consistent antistatists. Further on he says, in poor language again, and without a hint of irony:

"Under the decree, self-management was regimented. It was incorporated into the

frame-work of a State and power at factory level was split between the workers' elected council, the director appointed by the workers' council,—but whose appointment...required the endorsement of the Economy council...of the Generalidad,—and, lastly, an auditor from the Generalidad, appointed by the council for Economy...The Decree, of course, is open to criticisms, but it does not deserve, perhaps, all of the onslaughts which it has suffered from anarchist sticklers...." (My emphasis; grammatical errors in original.)

The reader is forced to wonder what an "anarchist stickler" is. An anarchist who insists that interference in revolutionary experiments by the state should be avoided? An anarchist who insists that intimate collaboration with politicians from leftist pro-capitalist parties might be detrimental to consistently anarchic goals? An anarchist who is opposed to giving a legislative pedigree to the process of revolutionary expropriation of land and industry? An anarchist who is appalled by the kinds of economic extortion (refusing to grant loans and honor paychecks) that were used by the authors and supporters of the decree when workers wanted to extend their control of various industries? It seems that an "anarchist stickler" is any anarchist who remains loyal to the antiauthoritarian and antistatist components of anarchism. One is then forced to wonder: what remains of anarchism?

Daniel Guérin called himself a libertarian socialist, not an anarchist. He wrote one of the better introductions to anarchism (*Anarchism; From Theory to Practice*), but his judgements about the parameters of anarchism and its relation to leftism were heavily skewed in favor of the left. Guérin was a leftist first, and a libertarian last. We can appreciate the contributions he made to anarchist literacy, but we need to remember that, fundamentally, he was not one of us.





# Underground:

## The London Alternative Press 1966-1974

Reviewed by Alex Trotter

*Underground: The London Alternative Press 1966-1974* by Nigel Fountain (Routledge, London & New York, 1988) 231pp. softcover.

This is another book about the passage of more than a few people through a relatively brief period of time, or, as the author puts it, the "story of a lucky generation" (the so-called baby boomers in American sociogese). By which he means lucky to have missed World War II and to have grown up during the long economic boom following the war.

London from the mid-1960s to the mid-'70s is the scene, and *Underground* devotes considerable attention to the cosmopolitan, international elements that went into making that scene what it was, the cross-Channel and transatlantic connections that made of the London alternative press more than a strictly British or English phenomenon. In fact, he says, it owed its launch to the earlier stirrings of a counterculture in the United States with the Beats and rock'n'roll. Throughout the book the U.S.A. is seen as a touchstone for the various incarnations of the radical press in Britain, and in some ways, the book is almost as much about New York, "where it all began" with *The East Village Other* and still earlier the *Village Voice*, and the San Francisco Bay Area (*The Berkeley Barb*, *The Oracle*) as it is about London. There was a certain galvanizing effect from Allen Ginsburg's visit to Britain in 1965 for a poetry conference. In addition to the American infusion, there was also a significant Australian presence in the London underground, and the European groups such as the Situationist International and the German SDS made themselves felt.

Among the principal publications discussed are *International Times*, *Idiot International*, *Time Out* (a city paper on which Fountain was an assistant editor), *Oz* (transplanted from Australia), the Trotskyist-influenced *Black Dwarf* (taking its name from a publication of the Chartists) and its successor *7 Days*, *Freudz*, and *Spare Rib* (feminist). Fountain's account is beholden to the ideology of "the generation," in which he is not unique; most accounts of the 1960s adhere to it as well. The underground press appears as an expression of youth culture in battle with "the establishment." There is the familiar picture of the 1960s and early '70s as a time of cultural revolution. There are the drug busts, the obscenity cases, the political trials, the rock bands and festivals, the tension be-

tween hedonism and politics, between the hippie counterculture and the New Left. The denizens of the underground mostly made

**The main merit of this book lies in its emphasis on the international aspect of the English-language alternative press of that era, which might possibly benefit some readers wrapped in American insularity.**

do with little. Some peddled drugs or lived on the dole; a few held straight jobs. Some worked perpetually stoned, others eschewed drugs entirely.

The politics of the underground (when it was overtly political) tended to be more radical liberal and leftist than anarchist. According to Fountain, Britain was a "backwater" compared to the activism in the United States surrounding the civil rights movement and against the Vietnam War. Still, there was the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. A depressingly large number of the radicals were involved in some way with campus and Labourite Trotskyism. (For some reason Maoism was never big in the student left in Britain, unlike in the States.) The hottest political items for the London left-wing press seemed to be the Angry Brigade and the Northern Irish miasma; some of them spent a good deal of time agonizing over whether and to what extent to offer "conditional support" to the IRA. Anarchism gets surprisingly little mention. The Situationists are sprinkled here and there, along with their failed and excommunicated connections in Britain such as Alexander Trocchi and *King Mob Echo*. For the most part Fountain throws the Sits into the stew and assimilates them to the general leftist milieu of the English-speaking world of the 1960s.

A great part of the book is taken up with sexual politics in the alternative press and broader movement of the time. Of any single movement or tendency discussed here, radical feminism receives the most attention. The hedonic worldview of the alternative press of the 1960s was in revolt against the censorious prudery of a conservative society still burdened with the weight of patriarchal

Victorianism. Nevertheless, this revolt was defined by heterosexual men; the women were mostly taken for granted and their talents obscured or ignored even as they were depicted, in often frankly pornographic images, merely and crudely as sexual objects. By about 1970 the women had had enough and revolted. The radical women's movement, more deeply rooted in the United States, was born in Britain as well, in which the women of the underground started their own publications (or took over existing ones) and political groups. Germaine Greer, an Australian who worked on the publications *Oz* and *Suck*, became one of the few members of the London underground press to achieve real fame and even celebrity with the publication of her book *The Female Eunuch*. Some of the feminists, determined to demonstrate that sexy didn't have to mean sexist, were interested in establishing their own interpretation of erotic and pornographic culture, rather than simply condemning it. But, driven by women's anger, the pendulum started to swing in the other direction, toward a strident and often puritanical feminism. The male hipsters/leftists mostly didn't know how to respond and retreated. The question of how men and women were to relate to one another in the counterculture was never adequately resolved, and became one of the rocks on which the whole scene foundered. The gay liberation movement was also launched around this time, again taking its cue from the Americans in the wake of the Stonewall riot of 1969. The feminists and the gay radicals were supposedly in alliance, but even so there was friction between them. And eventually feminists were to fall out among themselves, becoming as splintered as the "male" left. What was once radical has a way of becoming a part of the establishment. Greer in 1971: "The time has come to dig cunt, and women have got to dig it first." Would Hillary Clinton say something like that today?

In the 1970s utopian hopes started to fade; economic conditions grew tougher, social conditions meaner. The conservative faction of the ruling class started its campaign to roll back the liberalism of the 1960s. Psychedelia yielded to hard drugs, and the music ran out of steam. The radical press never managed to bring together the marxoids, squatters, freaks, religious followers, black nationalists, rock fans, feminists, and so on and reflected the ghettoized specialization that society was trending toward. Gone was any universalist notion



# Polish Revolutionary Populism

Reviewed by Alex Trotter

*Polish Revolutionary Populism: A study in agrarian socialist thought from the 1830s to the 1850s* by Peter Brock (University of Toronto Press, 1977) 125pp., OOP hardcover.

Nineteenth-century Populism in Eastern Europe is usually associated with the Russian movement of *narodnichestvo* that took off in the 1870s, with its origins in Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Chernyshevsky. This slim volume, which I found in a used book store in Montreal, likely out of print, tells of an earlier form of populism in partitioned Poland that existed between the uprisings of 1830 and 1863. The Polish *narodniki* (although they didn't use that term to describe themselves) were an influence on the later, and much better known, Russian movement; Herzen apparently came into contact with some of them during his London exile of the 1850s. Little has been written about this movement in English, and, according to Brock, even much of the archival material about it in Polish was destroyed in the Nazi invasion and occupation of Poland.

There were two broad groups of Polish populists: one composed of exiles in London, Paris, and Brussels, and another at home. They were heavily influenced by the French revolutionary tradition and utopian socialism, although they tended to be more militant than the French utopians. Among the exiled Poles were followers of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, Lammenais, Cabet, and Proudhon (Brock throws in Proudhon under "French utopians"). The twin goals of the Polish revolutionaries, often at odds with each other, were national liberation from the partitioning powers (Prussia, Hapsburg Austria, and tsarist Russia) and agrarian

socialism based on the ancient Slav peasant commune, called *gmina* in Polish. The *gmina* corresponded to the Russian *mir* and the South Slav *zadruga*, but unlike them, it had long passed out of existence. Nevertheless, for thirty years it inspired a series of revolutionary thinkers who were looking to graft the socialism they'd learned in Paris or London onto a native root.

Serfdom still existed in Poland at that time, except in the Prussian partition, where reforms had given the peasants ownership of the land they cultivated at the time of emancipation.

The exiles, who mostly hailed from the gentry, formed several groups, which split frequently and had two main tendencies, a left wing favoring the compulsory abolition of serfdom (Polish Democratic Society), and a right wing favoring cooperation between serfs and "progressive" landowners. Some of the names that stand out are Lelewel, Krepowiecki, Swietoslowski, and the romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz. These groups were focused overwhelmingly on agrarian revolution, and little attention was paid to industry. One exception to this was the Grudziąz Commune of the Polish People, an organization active in London in the 1840s and probably influenced by English industrial conditions and the British working-class Chartist movement.

Many of the Polish revolutionaries were similar to other romantic nationalists in Europe of that time, calling not for class war, but war of the peoples (national liberation). Carbonarism and the cult of Napoleon Bonaparte were strong; many Poles had been enthusiastic supporters of, and participants in, Napoleon's ill-fated invasion of Russia in 1812. Mickiewicz was a bit of a Bonapartist himself, favoring the use of

French military might to come to the aid of oppressed nationalities under Europe's remaining imperial dynasties. He demonstrated his own republican internationalism by organizing a Polish legion to fight in Italy against the Hapsburgs in 1848.

To the universalism of the French revolutionary and socialist model, however, the *narodniki* added their peculiar contribution of Polish messianism. Based in part on Mazzini's idea that every nation had its own special mission, they saw Poland as the "Christ of nations" occupying a position within Slavdom analogous to that of France in Europe: a beacon of freedom. Poland would be the leader of a progressive pan-Slavism to rival the reactionary one promoted by tsarist Russia. This pan-Slav movement would be more westward-looking, but would also avoid the capitalist corruption of western Europe and show its errors. The religious vision of the populists was a form of Christian socialism opposed to the Roman Catholic Church, which was condemned for its ties to despotism and its betrayal of the poor. Some of the Polish utopias demonstrated a grandiose delirium: Poland would be the Messiah of a world socialist federation and Universal Church, with its capital on the isthmus of Suez and Polish as its official language. There is an intriguing possibility here, which Brock does not raise, that the Polish messianism of this time may have borne traces of Frankism, a mystical crypto-Jewish sect. (Jacob Frank had been an eighteenth-century follower of the "false Messiah" Sabbatai Zevi. The Sabbatean movement in Poland, persecuted by Orthodox Jewish communal authorities, was defended by the Catholic Church, and many Frankists were converted to Christianity and adopted into the Polish gentry. Some of

## Underground

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that everyone was in it together.

The issues dealt with by the underground press "were never resolved.... History filed them for future reference." Indeed. The particular milieu that Fountain describes (and in which he was a participant) may have dried up sometime in the 1970s, and definitively by the Thatcher/Reagan years, but underground history hardly ended then. Despite the punky look of the book's cover, Fountain's account ends just before the punk explosion, which brought its own underground press. And there have been others, such as the zine culture of the late 1980s to

early '90s. Post-leftist and post-feminist "generations" (cohorts?) continue to pick up the pieces and make their stab at solving the puzzles whose solution eluded the counterculture of the 1960s. Some relics of that time (and earlier), such as the *Village Voice*, are still around. But the *WV* has been snoozeville for years. Its rival city paper, *New York Press*, although hardly an "underground" publication, has demonstrated that libertarian Republicans/capitalists can be hipsters too, and sometimes they can even be better at it than the liberal-leftists. And why not, since the counterculture ultimately became an expression of hip capitalism. The well-known left-wing journalist Alexander Cockburn started out writing for some of the London

publications discussed in *Underground*, including *Black Dwarf* and *7 Days*, went on to New York to write for the *Village Voice*, and now contributes to the *New York Press*.

The main merit of this book lies in its emphasis on the international aspect of the English-language alternative press of that era, which might possibly benefit some readers wrapped in American insularity. *Underground* may not be the best book ever written about the 1960s, but it provides an interesting account of the people and the times that celebrates the fun and commitment while acknowledging the folly and shortcomings, and largely avoids sentimental nostalgia.



them eventually turned up among the exile community. There is more on this subject in *Poles and Jews: A Failed Brotherhood* by Magdalena Opalski and Israel Bartal.) In any case, the emigrés were in a better position to spin wild fantasies. Their counterparts in the home country had more practical problems to grapple with.

There were links between the exiles and the revolutionaries within Poland. The Polish Democratic Society and other groups sent emissaries into Poland to distribute propaganda publications. Within the home country were groups such as Young Poland, The Union of Plebeians (operating in Prussian Poznań under the leadership of a bookseller named Walenty Stefanski), and the Union of the Polish Nation, made up of gentry populists. Stefanski's secret society planned an uprising against the Prussians and viewed reforms giving peasants property rights as a "foreign" idea that would undermine the Slav commune.

Father Piotr Sciegenny was a radical priest, active in both Galicia (Austrian partition) and the Congress Kingdom (Russian partition), who came up with the brilliant idea of forging a pastoral letter from the pope telling the peasants that it was God's will that they rise up against their masters. Peasants believed in its authenticity and acted on it, causing problems for the Austrian authorities. The reigning pope, Gregory XVI, had actually condemned Polish aspirations for independence in an encyclical of 1832. Eventually Sciegenny's activities were halted by the Russians, and he was transported to Siberia, where he attempted to form a phalanstery among his fellow Polish prisoners.

Then there were the aristocrats Edward Dembowski and Count Leon Rzewuski, whose positions Brock describes as being closer to "scientific socialism." Dembowski was influenced by Hegel as well as French socialists. He met his fate felled by the bullets of Austrian troops in the Krakow insurrection of 1846. Rzewuski was representative of a type that was to become familiar as well among the Russian narodniks, the penitent nobleman going to the people. He had visited England, where he picked up on the philanthropic utopia of Robert Owen. Back in Poland, he sought alliance with the Ruthenians (Ukrainians of east Galicia). He too believed in Slav brotherhood but opposed the chauvinism of the Polish right wing and advocated equal rights for Jews and Ukrainians alongside Poles.

The year 1848 saw revolutionary outbreaks in Poland as elsewhere in Europe, although not in the Congress Kingdom. In Austria's empire, the fall of Metternich brought about a certain liberalization; censorship was relaxed and new radical journals appeared, in which were debated the intertwining and contradictory questions of class and nation. Should the peasants alone create a new

society, fighting against both Polish landlords and foreign domination, or should gentry and peasants fight together as Poles for liberation of the nation—a conflict that was to become all too familiar, in many other countries, in the twentieth century. The conservatives wanted a class collaborationist and reformist movement that would remain within legal bounds. The more radical populists saw Polish nationality preserved only by the

**One major difference between Polish populism and Russian populism consisted in the significant religious dimension of the former. But, like many of the Russian populists, the Poles often justified terrorism as a method of struggle. Even if they found less occasion to practice "propaganda of the deed" in the mid-nineteenth century, it was a Polish member of the People's Will Party that assassinated Tsar Alexander II in St. Petersburg in 1881.**

peasantry, and landowners and peasants as two different "nations." In their view, the historic Poland of the gentry would have to yield to a "people's Poland" broadened to become more democratic. But on one thing conservatives and radical democrats were agreed: the question of ethnic separatism. The Polish populists regarded the Ruthenians as an ethnic group of the Polish nation, and refused to recognize a separate Ukrainian nationality, seeing such a movement as a cat's paw of Hapsburg or tsarist intrigue. The support for Austria by the Uniate (Greek Catholic) Ruthenian clergy seemed to bear out these fears. Rzewuski was virtually the only one who disagreed. Sounding like Lenin in 1917, he favored the right of Ukrainians to secede from an independent Poland and form their own independent nation.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels supported the agrarian party that was instrumental in the insurrection in Krakow in 1846, even if the narodniks themselves were not advocating communism. After 1830 there was a crackdown in the Congress Kingdom, which already had the most oppressive regime among the partitioning powers. The liberals in Prussia brought about relaxation of

press censorship and Germanization campaigns to curry favor with the Poles, so as to make of them a resource in a war against Russia for German unification, a prospect that Marx eagerly looked forward to ("Death to the Mongolian supremacy over contemporary society"). To that end, a reconstitution of even a part of Poland would provoke the tsar into war. But for Prussian liberals (Marx included?) there was a problem in this position: should land inhabited by Germans be given up to a people that had never progressed beyond a state of feudalism and agricultural serfdom? The Prussian solution seemed to be to give the Poles extended territory in the east to make them more tractable in the (Germanized) west. Marx, whose own encounter with populism came later—and then with the Russians—wrote fairly extensively on the "Polish Question," but apparently did not engage directly with the Polish populists, nor they with him.

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Narodism faded rapidly in Poland after the failure of the 1863 insurrection in the Congress Kingdom. The prime causes were the ferocity of tsarist repression, increasing industrialization of Poland (on which subject Rosa Luxemburg wrote her doctoral thesis), and the fact that the repartitional commune was not a living social form in Poland, but only a distant memory, which left the revolutionary intellectuals without a solid support to continue building a movement. And, to crown this failure, populism did not effect any lasting hold among the peasants of the Polish lands. But even as it disappeared in Poland, narodism was reborn in Russia.

This overview of Polish populism is concise. Some subjects it touches only briefly, such as the nationalities question, which, with Poland as one of the prime examples, would arise later among Social Democrats in the famous debate between Lenin and Luxemburg over the "right of nations to self-determination." It would have been interesting to see the author devote more attention to this problem, although it is, strictly speaking, beyond the scope of the time period he deals with. Another question given brief consideration here concerns the views of Polish populists toward the large, and mostly unassimilated, population of Polish Jews. The subject of anti-Semitism gets only an endnote here, implying that it was of very marginal significance in the Polish revolutionary movements; this was



# Defying Male Civilization

Reviewed by Lawrence Jarach

*Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War* by Mary Nash (Arden Press, POB 418, Denver 80201, 1995) 261pp. \$32.00 hardcover, \$22.50 paper.

Part of the "Women and Modern Revolution Series," Nash's survey is as comprehensive as it is ambitious. Being a Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Barcelona, she has easy access to primary sources that are invaluable to any good study of the Spanish events of 1936-39. On the other hand, her bias in favor of modern feminism tends to get in the way of her analysis of the place of anarchism within the Revolution and Civil War.

Nash focuses most of her work on the woman's Popular Front umbrella group AMA (Organization of Antifascist Women), which was guided throughout its existence by the Spanish Communist Party, with the more or less explicit aim of gathering women together as an auxiliary force for the party. This was the largest women's group during the '30s, so it is appropriate enough for her to spend most of her text on it. The anarchist *Mujeres Libres* is also featured, and the differences between them and the AMA are examined, but not in enough detail. Part of my disappointment arose from the fact that Nash celebrates the cross-class unity of the AMA, and as a result, privileges their positions, especially as they relate to the prosecution of the civil war—as opposed to the revolution.

It may be that she doesn't fully understand the basic conflicts between anarchism and leftism (or libertarian communism and authoritarian socialism), and so can't fully appreciate the situation of political enmity that

was so common in the '30s. With the near total hegemony of stalinism until the heady days of the '60s, there was a tendency in academia to follow that line (see the introduction to Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* or Chomsky's "Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship" for more on this phenomenon). But with the early ascendancy of some antiauthoritarian tendencies in the New Left, the field of scholarly inquiry opened up. The accompanying rebirth of feminism in the years immediately following '68 provided a basis for examining the role of women as subjects (or agents) of history. Part of the trouble with seriously examining the previously ignored role of women was, and is, the tendency (by no means universal) to ignore men's agency—unless it's men as suppressors of women.

This is a position of defensiveness, and in this perspective all women are automatic allies with each other, regardless of very real differences based on class or politics.

That anarchists might not think that gender issues outweigh class issues is a possibility that Nash seems to ignore or dismiss. If "feminism" means that women in *Mujeres Libres* had to be allied with their class enemies or political rivals, is it any wonder that Spanish anarchist women refused the label?

Since the AMA was more than willing to absorb any other organization and its members into their Popular Front, Nash seems to scold only *Mujeres Libres* for their intransigence:

"...on the whole, female cohesion and unity on gender and social issues did not exist. Political polarization prevented the development of transclass unity around a common gender cause, and alternative political models hindered the realization of a common social or gender project among the women on the Left. Gender consciousness was insufficiently developed to break down the political impermeability of the women's organizations, which acted within closed arenas. Undoubtedly, political consciousness was more

significant than gender identity....open discord discouraged collaboration around specific projects."

But if we take anarchism seriously on its own terms, especially a strongly class-based anarchism like anarcho-syndicalism (the majority tendency in Spain in the '20s and '30s), then we need to understand class—not gender—as the main unifying factor. Since Nash appears to be a leftist, it is not surprising that she takes this sort of subtly hostile



## Polish Populists

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indeed largely true for the time period under discussion; popular anti-Semitism in Poland grew more in the latter part of the nineteenth century, after the revolutionary movements had been defeated and partly as a misdirected response to the growing reality of capitalist industrialization. Some of the Polish revolutionaries' programs seem to fit Brock's description of "totalitarian messianic democracy" as a tradition running from Babeuf through Buonarrotti to Blanqui (and on to Tkachev and Lenin). "People's Poland," which the narodniks had dreamed of, eventually came into existence as the name of the Soviet-imposed state that arose in a Poland emerging out of the ashes of World War II, with new borders and violently stripped of its

ethnic/national minorities, both through the Nazi mass-murder of Jews and through the mass population transfers (what today would be called "ethnic cleansing") of Germans, Poles, and Ukrainians following the war.

What can we say about the Polish populists from an anarchist perspective? They had the right instinct to want to avoid the industrial path, but they failed to challenge all forms of domination and certainly they should have let go of the Jacobinism. As Brock points out, there was a contradiction between their nationalism and their populism. The former, like its French revolutionary model, aimed at a bourgeois republic, whereas the latter in its pure form envisioned only the commune as the "fatherland." As subsequent developments in the tortured history of Poland have shown, insurrectionary movements in that country have usually identified freedom with

the restoration of a Polish state, and for anarchists, that's a problem. The Poland of today may still be more agricultural than western Europe, but the time for romantic nationalism has long passed (if indeed its time should ever have come), and it seems unlikely that the *gmina* will once again serve as a model for a new society. The American-led NATO (which Poland recently joined), and the German-dominated European Union (which it so far has not) have embarked on an ambitious eastward expansion, which is certain to provoke Russia in one way or another. Poland may once again find itself caught in the middle of a confrontation between more powerful neighbors to the east and the west.

Polish narodnism, a forgotten chapter in radical history, warrants a more extended study in the English language.



# A Future Worth Living

Reviewed by Bob Black

*A Future Worth Living: Thoughts on Getting There* by Chaz Bufe (See Sharp Press, POB 1731, Tucson, AZ 85702, 1998) 28pp. \$2.00 pamphlet.

**T**his pamphlet purports to explain why the revolutionary left isn't running the country. For Bufe, this is cause for regret; for most of us, it is cause for thanks. Although he claims to be an anarchist, Bufe makes clear that he is a leftist first and foremost; his anarchism is an afterthought. It never occurs to him that for anarchists, the "disarray" of the left might be an opportunity, not a misfortune. Why anarchists, so few in numbers and so limited in resources, should waste themselves on the thankless and probably futile chore of reanimating the left, Bufe never explains. Should they succeed, history teaches that they can expect no gratitude from the authoritarian left and no better climate in which to advance their distinctive project. Russian anarchists enjoyed far more freedom of action under the Czars than under the commissars.

After a perfunctory review of some economic statistics, Bufe moves on to identify the mechanism of social control as fundamentally psychological. It is the authoritarian conditioning imposed above all in the "patri-

archal" family which reduces the masses to servitude, primarily through sexual repression. "Patriarchal" religion reinforces familial repression. The everyday authoritarian conditioning imposed by state functionaries (in-

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cluding schoolteachers) is slighted, and that imposed by wage-labor is mostly ignored. Bufe has not only vulgarized Wilhelm Reich, he has severed the link which Reich strove to sustain between society and psyche. If he understood the logic of his own position, Bufe would have to concede that what most people (who, he reports, don't "think very well") need is not revolution but therapy. Whereas I think revolution is the best therapy

there is.

The main message of Bufe's essay is that "any realistic movement toward real social change must address sexual issues." Bufe identifies no such issues, except for implying that teenagers should be allowed to fuck. Most American teenagers do fuck, but that doesn't seem to have revolutionized their thinking or stripped them of character-armor. They don't need leftist organizations to tell them that what they're doing is okay. The kids are alright, it's neurotic grown-ups like Bufe who have sexual hang-ups.

Bufe has a serious preoccupation with "violence," with "coercion." "You can't achieve a noncoercive society through the use of coercion," he says. Since we have never achieved a noncoercive society at all, through coercion or otherwise, there's no way to verify or falsify this sweeping generalization. Violence is a natural and normal dimension of social life. It occurs in all forms of society, including anarchist band and tribal societies. Most anarchists hope and expect that in the anarchist society they strive for, violence would be drastically reduced. I share their hope and their expectation. But "getting there," in Bufe's phrase, is something else again. Without glorifying armed struggle, it's possible to point out that there has rarely if ever been an entirely bloodless social revolution. The authorities are violent through and through, so there will be violence whether or not the anarchists refrain from initiating it. I really don't see why the anarchists should swear off violence altogether—does anybody think the cops and courts will give them any credit for their forbearance? The Wobblies were almost always nonviolent but they got long terms of imprisonment anyway.

Bufe is big on vague foggy generalities but weak on particulars—a serious default in an essay about "getting there." Repeatedly he holds up ZEGG, apparently a German commune, as an exemplar—but he never tells us a damned thing about what ZEGG is (or even what the initials stand for). Bufe thinks that "model communities" are the way to go, but he has nothing to say about the history of the hundreds of anarchist or utopian socialist intentional communities which were set up in America in and after the 1840s. Anybody thinking of starting up such a community should, at the very least, become acquainted with the experiences of its predecessors. Some risks are inherent, but others are avoidable. If the point of an anarchist intentional community is to set a good example, then everything possible should be done to ensure that the example is good. Bufe doesn't do this.

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position toward anarchists who are consistent in their promotion of antiauthoritarian solutions to social, political, and economic problems.

But the part that makes it more galling is that Nash says in the introduction:

"The transposition of current concerns of feminism to historical context represents a distortion of historical reality. It is the task of historians to pinpoint the priorities of a woman's agenda in its own terms....Preconceived suppositions regarding the definition of feminism and women's agency can indeed distort interpretations of women's collective experience, choices, and concerns....The issues that concern women in times of radical change may often signify that other issues associated with women's rights, such as abortion, are not included in the agenda of women and feminist organizations..."

Not only do we get her somewhat dismissive attitude to consistent antiauthoritarians, but, in contradiction to the above quote, she

says in the final pages, "Yet other issues usually associated with women's rights, such as sex reform and abortion, were excluded from their agenda....Despite the favorable context for the legalization of abortion, women excluded abortion and birth control from their list of priorities and never openly defined women's reproductive rights as their route to emancipation."

So it appears that, contrary to her intention as outlined in the introduction, Nash actually isn't analyzing the experiences and goals of the Spanish women during the '30s on their own terms. Not only does she scold the members of *Mujeres Libres* for not working with the AMA because of "insufficiently developed" gender consciousness, but she also scolds all the women in the Republic for not including birth control and abortion on their agendas.

While it is interesting for anarchists to look at what their political rivals and enemies have done throughout the history of their interactions, if someone wants to examine the role of specifically anarchist women during the revolution in Spain, I would recommend Martha Ackelsberg's *Free Women of Spain* instead of *Defying Male Civilization*.



# No Logo

## Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies

Reviewed by Jonathan Slyk

*No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies* by Naomi Klein (Alfred A. Knopf, Toronto, Canada, 2000) 490pp. \$35.95 hardcover; (Picador Books, USA, 2000) 528pp. \$28.00 hardcover.

I must confess I've been a reader of Naomi Klein since her days at *This magazine*, a Canadian leftist monthly. There's an engaging, snappy lilt to her writing and, though no anarchist, she always seemed slightly more radical than that magazine's parameters. Klein also has an interesting pedigree. Her grandfather was a communist fired by Walt Disney for trying to organize a labour union among the animators on *Fantasia* in 1940. Her parents were the stereotypical free-spirited flower children, part of an American draft-dodging wave that fled to Canada in the 1960s. At only 30, she's an accomplished journalist and editor specializing in youth culture for leading newspapers and magazines.

The basis for this book began as an article called "Subvertising" for the *Village Voice* (May 6, 1997). In it, Klein sketched a portrait of the activist scene known as culture jamming. While doing research, she had a hunch there was more to it than merely venting frustration at specific ads but was possibly part of a much broader movement against the very spectre of globalization. Granted, that hunch wasn't much of a stretch. The result is an impressive account of how the world's largest, or rather, the most ubiquitous corporations succeed—not by out-producing their competitors—but out-branding them, and how this in turn fuels the backlash against the most prominent, in-your-face brands.

The book is divided into four parts. In the first section, No Space, Klein outlines the trend—started roughly fifteen years ago—by corporations to focus on producing brands, not things. That is, "their real work lay not in manufacturing but in marketing," she says. This led to downsizing and out-sourcing on an unprecedented scale, in a race toward "weightlessness." Nike, Starbucks, the Body Shop, Calvin Klein, Levis and others began directing huge sums toward marketing. Then in the recession of the early '90s, waning consumer loyalty created "brand blindness." To compete, tobacco giant Philip Morris announced price reductions on Marlboro cigarettes in what became known as "Marlboro Friday." Immediately, stock prices plunged, not only for Philip Morris, but for all major household brand companies. The

ones which survived, eerily enough, were those who continued to spend on marketing. Brands have been expanding and colonizing public space ever since.

Although advertising isn't new, brands are different. Ads, explains Klein, are about products—whereas brands are about meaning, emotions, even "transcendence." Examples abound of how branding gets "taken to the next level" where entire buildings, events, celebrities, and athletes are merely the background for the brand. Youth culture is "stalked" by marketers and recouped along with political dissent, and we end up with Tommy Hilfiger life-size walking logos, drinkable Che by Revolution Soda Company, and a pirate radio station in Chicago launched by Old Navy.

"No Choice" takes the reader into the world of corporate integration and cross-pollination. Synergy is the key word here. Everything merges into everything else, transforming the host culture. Brands extend to spin a self-sustaining lifestyle web or what Starbucks calls a "brand canopy," inside which we are encouraged to live our whole lives—epitomized by Disney's town of Celebration, Florida.

"No Jobs" examines both the loss and changing nature of employment. There are vivid first hand descriptions of free trade zones a.k.a. "export processing zones," particularly in the Philippines where she visited the regulation-free haven of Cavite in the town of Rosario. It was revealing to learn that Nike, Reebok, Gap, and other high profile brands don't actually make their products (they own no factories), they buy them from sweatshops in these EPZ's.

The last section, "No Logo," surveys resistance

around the world, weaving together culture jamming, Reclaim the Streets, campus activism, fast-food labour organizing, the

McLibel/Greenpeace trial, and anti-sweatshop campaigns, etc. Klein believes these are the seeds of a genuine radical movement "as global and as capable of coordinated action as the multinationals it seeks to subvert." Maybe, but it could also potentially be so much more than simply ending corporate rule. And unfortunately, the activism she cites doesn't seem capable of anything other than reform.

*No Logo* was completed before the TimeWarner-AOL-EMI mergers and the WTO in Seattle, which would have framed her thesis nicely. On her book tour in Vancouver, Naomi lauded the N30 protests but wondered out loud whether the WTO itself hadn't become just another brand to attack. Anarchists might want to pause and consider Klein's analysis in light of the circle-A logos they branded around Seattle.

This is a massive reference work that picks up where Thomas Frank's *Conquest of Cool* leaves off, expanding upon the scope and detail. As

such, it's still unnecessarily long. But *No Logo* is not another book about globalization; for that, check the reading list in the back. However, if you want a definitive, behind-the-scenes chronicle of the war between the world's most powerful corporations and the backlash engendered by them during the last ten years, find a quiet public place that hasn't yet been branded and...Just read it.

The last section, "No Logo," surveys resistance around the world, weaving together culture jamming, Reclaim the Streets, campus activism, fast-food labour organizing, the McLibel/Greenpeace trial, and anti-sweatshop campaigns, etc. Klein believes these are the seeds of a genuine radical movement "as global and as capable of coordinated action as the multinationals it seeks to subvert."

NO LOGO



TAKING AIM AT THE BRAND BULLIES NAOMI KLEIN



# RIP WTO N30 & Showdown in Seattle

Reviewed by Jason McQuinn

*RIP WTO N30* (PickAxe Productions, 1430 Willamette #506, Eugene, OR 97401-4073, 1999) 20 minute video, \$10.00 1st copy, \$5.00 each additional copy for individuals, \$25.00 libraries/institutions.

*Showdown in Seattle: Five Days That Shook the WTO* (produced by Independent Media Center and Big Noise Productions, Changing America, Headwaters Action Video Collective, Paper Tiger TV, VideoActive and Whispered Media; available from: Whispered Media, POB 40130, San Francisco, CA 94140, 1999) 150 minute video, \$50.00 + \$3p&h for individuals, \$25 + \$3p&h low income, \$250 + \$3p&h for libraries/institutions.

The explosion of alternative outlets in electronic media has dwarfed the growth of alternative print media in the last couple years, even considering the torrent of new zines being constantly launched. The proliferation of pirate (or low-power) radio stations, radical web sites, and—most recently—internet video sites has finally reached the point where even most Luddites have probably seen or heard about them. So it's not surprising that one of the more effective innovations of the Seattle WTO protests last November was the creation of an Independent Media Center that encouraged and coordinated the daily documentation of the protests and massive dissemination of alternative media information by all available means, including the production of videos like *RIP WTO N30* and *Showdown in Seattle: Five Days That Shook the WTO*.

Both *RIP WTO N30* and *Showdown in Seattle* include protester's-eye-views of the blockades, marches, festivities and police attacks that collectively made history—and in the process helped derail the WTO and serve notice that capitalist globalization will be hotly contested in the new millennium. Both are obviously indebted to the same group of protest-zone camera activists who managed to capture some amazing scenes of youthful exhilaration, face-to-face protester-to-delegate confrontations, and brutal police violence.

*RIP WTO N30*, at a tightly edited twenty minutes, is the more engaging and higher impact of the two, especially for anarchist viewers. *Showdown in Seattle*, at 150 minutes, is obviously the more comprehensive in most ways, although this is obtained at the cost of including some repetitive and occasionally boring footage (partly the result of its structure as a series of five separate segments).

Both videos eschew any significant back-



A scene from *Showdown in Seattle*.

**Both *RIP WTO N30* and *Showdown in Seattle* include protester's-eye-views of the blockades, marches, festivities and police attacks that collectively made history...helped derail the WTO and serve notice that capitalist globalization will be hotly contested in the new millennium.**

ground development or narration in favor of letting a multitude of protesters have their say (in brief sound bytes, at least). In the case of *Showdown*, the focus is too often on official organizers, labor leaders and spokespeople, most of whom are just as shallow in their portrayals of the social and political implications of the protest as the rank-and-file protesters, but much less interesting. Unfortunately, the divisions between anticapitalist and reformist demonstrators are barely hinted at in either video, although *RIP* is obviously in sympathy with the revolutionaries, while *Showdown* is much more sympathetic with the legions of pro-capitalist reformists like Teamsters President James Hoffa, AFL-CIO honchos George Meany & Linda Chavez, wannabe populist Jim Hightower, Ralph Nader and Public Citizen's Lori Wallach.

At times *Showdown* even becomes painful to watch due to the naivete exhibited by both rank-and-file protesters and the parade of leaders who show a consistently pathetic faith in "democracy," the "Constitution" and the ultimate good of the mainstream institutions which are destroying our world. While watching *RIP*, with its greater focus on images and action, and its inclusion of more radical voices, is like a breath of fresh air in comparison. Both videos obviously capture important aspects of the whole picture, which neither are able to adequately show in 20 or even 150 minutes.

For readers who are interested enough in the Seattle protests to read this review and haven't yet seen either of these videos, I'd highly recommend picking up at least *RIP WTO N30*, which is well worth the \$10 for all that you'll get out of it. If you can afford it, and if you're interested in a bigger, if overall less compelling or radical picture, *Showdown* is also an important documentation of primarily the larger, more reformist side of the Seattle protests. (For a taste of *Showdown*, you can even download portions of the video from web sites like Whispered Media's (at [www.whisperedmedia.org](http://www.whisperedmedia.org)) and the Independent Media Center's (a little harder to navigate—go to the Seattle link—at [www.indymedia.org](http://www.indymedia.org)).

Ultimately, everyone in North America, if not the world, should be able to see both of these groundbreaking videos—tastes of what will be coming out of every important social contestation from this point on.

Whispered Media: [www.whisperedmedia.org](http://www.whisperedmedia.org)



# The New Military Humanism

Reviewed by Jason McQuinn

*The New Military Humanism: Lessons From Kosovo* by Noam Chomsky (Common Courage Press, POB 702, Monroe, ME 04951, 1999) 199pp. \$15.95 paper.

There can be little doubt that NATO never for a moment decided to bomb the tiny rump republic of Yugoslavia last year for purely "humanitarian" reasons. Yet US media and government officials pour this unreal explanation out in carefully concocted servings every chance they get on newspaper front pages and the evening television news. The cumulative weight of this distasteful banquet of self-serving misrepresentation can make it hard for most people to resist eventually eating it up, since it's not an easy task to investigate and keep tabs on the status of an institutionalized lying machine which employs thousands of people to concoct palatable prevarications with which to continue fooling as many as possible.

Luckily, however, we have Noam Chomsky and friends working overtime to expose all of this and save the rest of us wasted energy by gathering together all of the most important available material revealing what is really going on beneath the faux humanist gloss. Can you say "New World Order"? How about "Global hegemony for the US"? Or a "New Colonialism" aimed at former clients and cold war buffer states on the periphery of the Soviet Union?

In his latest book, *The New Military Humanism: Lessons from Kosovo*, Chomsky displays, then undermines and finally buries all of the major rhetorical claims to US and NATO "humanism" in Serbia and Kosovo. And as well in other areas of the contemporary world where similar conditions may result in quite dissimilar treatment—all depending upon which countries benefit from ongoing civil wars, counter-insurgency campaigns, invasions and genocide.

With regard to the Yugoslav War, Chomsky concludes:

"A reasonable judgement, I think is that the U.S. chose a course of action that—as anticipated—would escalate atrocities and violence; that strikes yet another blow against the regime of international order, which offers the weak at least some limited protection from predatory states; that undermines democratic developments within Yugoslavia, possibly Macedonia as well; and that sets back the prospects for disarmament and for some control of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, indeed may leave others 'no choice' but to 'obtain weapons of mass destruction' in self-defense. Of the three logically possible

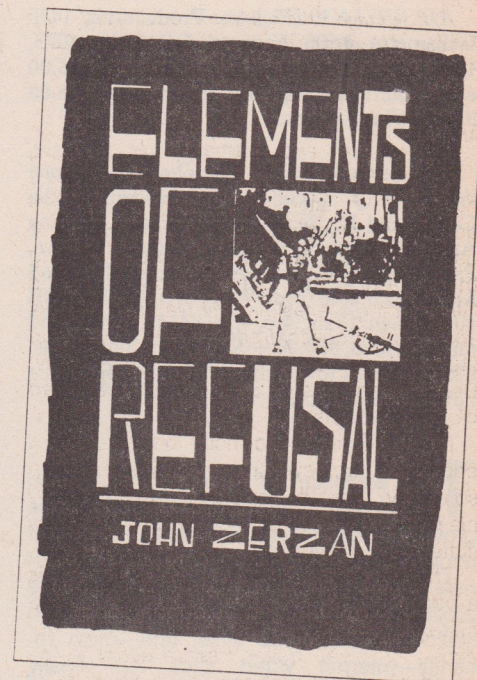
options, it chose (I) 'act to escalate the catastrophe,' rejecting the alternative (II) 'do nothing,' and (III) 'try to mitigate the catastrophe.' Was (III) realistic? One cannot know, but there are indications...that it might have been."

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world where similar conditions  
may result in quite dissimilar  
treatment—all depending upon  
which countries benefit....**

You can bet that any country willing to work for the benefit of the US will have its favorite ethnic cleansing campaign or its death squads handsomely supported. While those countries attempting to chart their own paths will find themselves facing destabilizing maneuvers from global capitalist institutions like the IMF and World Bank, followed if need be by low-intensity interventions, and ultimately—if resistance continues—by insane levels of violence until they are forced to yield. Those who take the trouble to look will see that this process has repeated itself in country after country as, for a few examples, it has in Chile, Nicaragua, Iraq, and currently Yugoslavia.

As long as the effective pretense can be maintained that a massive air war targeting civilians, journalists, foreign embassies, public works infrastructure and domestic industries is no such thing at all, there will be no way to stop this type of destruction. As long as it is successfully maintained that all this is actually a restrained attempt at accomplishing "humanist" goals whose success is "unfortunately" receding in plausibility as the inevitable logic of the military devastation continues, the entire world is a potential target for the next round of "humanism."

*The New Military Humanism* is overpriced for its format, size and page count, but still worth five times its weight in books on US, NATO or military history by any other author. As such, it's another in a long line of brilliant works by Chomsky which in a more thoughtful world would have all become mainstream best-sellers.



"Everyone can feel the nothingness, the void, just beneath the surface of everyday routines and securities." -from the Preface

*Elements of Refusal* is the first collection of John Zerzan's writings—and this Second Edition of the collection is long overdue. No less than as they first appeared, these essays are provocative and important.

Present day "reality," as constituted by those with vested interests in maintaining this domination, is touted as the "best" possible reality. Accordingly, history is shaped like a monstrous land-fill to legitimize this hoax.

Daily life, with its intensifying alienations and psychopathology becomes more spectacular and bizarre. *All is not well in Utopia.* We grow more dependent on glitter and diversion to fill the void where all that is human is gutted. Life is reduced to a game. *But there is nowhere to play.* Every technological innovation promising to bring us closer together drives us further apart; every revolution promises to liberate us from want, but leaves us more in need.

*Elements of Refusal* spells it all out. Here it is axiomatic that art, language, time, industrialism, number, technology, work and other aspects of our social lives—all hailed as the liberators of humanity—are, in fact, the co-conspirators of domestication and domination.

**Columbia Alternative Library  
C.A.L. Press/Paleo Editions  
POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205  
\$14.95 + \$2.05 p&h = \$17.00 total**



# A Language Older than Words

Reviewed by John Zerzan

*A Language Older than Words* by Derrick Jensen (Context Books, New York, 2000) 337pp. \$16.00 paper.

Thankfully, and perhaps miraculously, there are those whose horrible traumas have been the starting points on journeys of deep understanding. In terms of their most useful gift to us, they involve understanding the nature of civilization. Chellis Glendinning's excellent *My Name is Chellis and I'm in Recovery from Western Civilization* (1994) is the story of one such journey. Derrick Jensen's *A Language Older than Words* is another.

It has to take enormous openness and courage to achieve and share insights won so dearly. Like Chellis, Derrick was raped by his professional, middle-class father and has suffered accordingly.

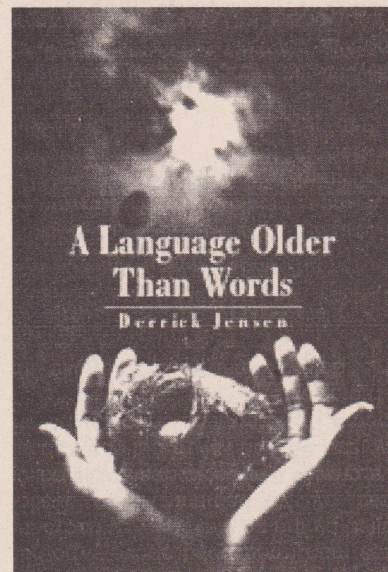
The story of his struggle to understand is a book that is incredibly personal and magnificently "political." Quotation marks because "political" doesn't seem equal to the depth of what's required to come to grips

with civilization itself.

In essence, it was Derrick's developing communion with nature that sustained him and offered the key to understanding both the character and the course of civilization. With great eloquence, certainly not devoid of humility and humor, he shows that the logic and priorities of the civilizing process work precisely against that communion with the natural world. It is controlling, debasing, destructive, and works to close us off from seeing what is happening. This is an exact parallel to being individually violated and plunged into personal denial.

Jensen's odyssey is full of the loveliest observations from the heart, self-effacing recollections that are often very funny, and relentless questioning of this bizarre totality we find ourselves living in.

*Language* will enter the growing current of understanding of and resistance to civilization, and will greatly enrich it. The book brought to mind Freud's prediction that universal civilization will mean universal neurosis. I can only hope that liberation for ourselves and nature will be of a kind with



the triumph that Derrick Jensen has already obtained.

## A small selection of anarchist/alternative Web sites

Compiled by Alex Trotter

I can't make any pretense to putting together a comprehensive list that would cover everything of interest to anarchists and their friends. These sites all have their own lists of linked sites, so the adventure of exploration is yours, if you feel that the Internet/WWW has any value (and not all anarchists do). From time to time I'll add sites to this list, or correct addresses that have changed or disappeared.

Spunk Press Anarchist Archives  
[www.spunk.org](http://www.spunk.org)

"USENET groups and mailing lists of interest to anarchists"  
[flag.blackened.net/liberty/lists.htm](http://flag.blackened.net/liberty/lists.htm)

Blackout Books (New York City)  
[www.panix.com/~blackout/index.html](http://www.panix.com/~blackout/index.html)

Mid-Atlantic Infoshop (anarchist librarians, pirate radio, and much more)  
[burn.ucsd.edu/~mai](http://burn.ucsd.edu/~mai)

Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade  
[world.std.com/~bbrigade](http://world.std.com/~bbrigade)

Max Stirner related material  
[pierce.ee.washington.edu/~davisd/egoist/stirner](http://pierce.ee.washington.edu/~davisd/egoist/stirner)

Zerowork  
[www.disgruntled.com](http://www.disgruntled.com)

AUT-OP-SY (autonomist and ultraleft Marxism)  
[lists.village.virginia.edu/~spoons/aut\\_html](http://lists.village.virginia.edu/~spoons/aut_html)

"Grassroots Environmental Index"  
[www.wadham.ox.ac.uk/~rhouston/index/index.cgi](http://www.wadham.ox.ac.uk/~rhouston/index/index.cgi)

GreenNet  
[www.gn.apc.org](http://www.gn.apc.org)

Situationist archive  
[www.nothingness.org/SI/index.html](http://www.nothingness.org/SI/index.html)

The Daily Bleed (sinners and saints galore)  
[www.eskimo.com/~recall/bleed/calmast.htm](http://www.eskimo.com/~recall/bleed/calmast.htm)

Emperor Norton  
[www.notfrisco.com/nortoniana](http://www.notfrisco.com/nortoniana)

Victor Serge  
[users.skynet.be/johneden](http://users.skynet.be/johneden)

Wilhelm Reich  
[www.orgone.org](http://www.orgone.org)

Society for Human Sexuality  
[www.sexuality.org](http://www.sexuality.org)

Surrealist writers  
[www.creative.net/~alang/lit/surreal/writers.sht](http://www.creative.net/~alang/lit/surreal/writers.sht)

Dada movement  
[www.mital-u.ch/Dada/](http://www.mital-u.ch/Dada/)

New Social & Cultural Movements  
[www.lancs.ac.uk/users/csec/shiftingground/](http://www.lancs.ac.uk/users/csec/shiftingground/)

Communitas (news around the world)  
[www.ecn.org/communitas/](http://www.ecn.org/communitas/)

The Post-Technology Project  
[redrival.com/ptech/](http://redrival.com/ptech/)

Bindlestiff Family Cirkus (erotic fire shows, sword swallowers, bug eaters, etc.)  
[www.atomicage.com/bindle](http://www.atomicage.com/bindle)

Witches, wiccans and pagans  
[www.witchvox.com](http://www.witchvox.com)

Geostrategic and intelligence (spook) stuff  
[www.stratfor.com](http://www.stratfor.com); [www.siri-us.com](http://www.siri-us.com)

Independent Media Center (WTO-related material)  
206.168.174.21

Cypherpunks home page  
<ftp://ftp.csua.berkeley.edu/pub/cypherpunks/Home.html>

List of anonymous remailers  
[www.cs.berkeley.edu/~raph/remailer-list.html](http://www.cs.berkeley.edu/~raph/remailer-list.html)



# The Friends of Durruti Group

Reviewed by Rob Thaxton

*The Friends of Durruti Group: 1937-1939* by Agustín Guíllamón (AK Press, POB 40682, San Francisco, CA 94140-0682; and POB 12766, Edinburgh, EH8 9YE, Scotland, 1996) 116pp. \$9.95 paper.

Of all the books written about the anarchist revolution in Spain, this is perhaps the hardest one to come to grips with. The author is both an apologist for and critic of the Friends of Durruti, which he praises for breaking new ground in anarchist revolutionary theory, but lambastes for failing to break with anarcho-sindicalist orthodoxy. Because of the complexity of Guíllamón's analysis, this is a poor book to read if one is interested in learning about the revolution and civil war in Spain. To those already familiar with the tragic blunders which characterize the CNT/FAI's handling of the revolutionary situation presented them at that time, this book is noteworthy because of its focus on an obscure, critical group within the CNT. I cannot overemphasize the importance of reading as much about the Spanish Civil War and concurrent anarchist revolution as one can find *before* picking up this confused, redundant and self-contradictory publication.

I'll try to briefly recount the historic events leading up to the formation of the Friends of Durruti (FoD) and its brief existence as a proposed catalyst for defending and expanding the revolution. A more detailed chronology makes up chapter 1 of the book.

- **7/17-21/36:** First, after years of political instability, portions of the military and reactionary elements of Spanish society attempt a coup. In much of the country, armed resistance by workers—often members of the CNT/FAI—defeats the uprising.

- **7/21/36:** Days after achieving their military victory, the leadership of the CNT enters into an anti-fascist national government coalition with the socialist UGT (the only Spanish union comparable in size to the CNT), the Stalinist PSUC party and various elements of the former Spanish Republican government, the Central Anti-Fascist Militias Committee.

- **9/26/36:** A more centralized government (Generalidad) is formed. Three prominent anarchist leaders accept administrative positions.

- **10/12/36:** The various revolutionary Local Committees—which have existed in place of local governments since the uprising—are dissolved by the new Generalidad.

- **10/27/36:** The Generalidad orders the revolutionary militias to militarize and be absorbed by the Republican Army.

- **11/5/36:** Buenaventura Durruti denounces the decree for militarization in a radio broad-

cast. He also demands that those not fighting on the front lines fight for revolution at home.

- **11/20/36:** Durruti is killed.

- **3/17/37:** After more than three months of making pro-revolutionary propaganda, the FoD is formed.

- **5/3/37:** Republican armed forces assault the Barcelona Telephone exchange—controlled by the CNT since the uprising. A spontaneous armed uprising by the CNT rank-and-file follows. The CNT leadership orders the workers to disarm. The FoD are appalled.

- **5/19/37-2/1/38:** FoD publishes *El Amigo del Pueblo*, its newspaper. Its main theorist and writer, Jaime Balius, writes "Towards a Fresh Revolution," which is published in January 1938. Afterwards, FoD drift off into exile and clandestinity.

It's impossible to make a coherent summary of Guíllamón's analysis of the FoD and CNT/FAI, so I won't try. In one section, he takes both to task for not being revolutionary enough. He spends a lot of time explaining that the FoD were not influenced by Marxists and how they were able to come up with concepts such as "totalitarian revolution" and "dictatorship of the proletariat" from an organic anarchist perspective, though he doesn't even attempt to explain the subtle differences between the two—other than to point out that the "Towards a Fresh Revolution" pamphlet describes a sort of workers' council type of governance. He also wrote an entire chapter about Trotskyist criticisms and comments on the FoD just to show that Marxists didn't directly influence them. This despite their constant call for creation of a "Revolutionary Junta," which would act as a revolutionary vanguard. I guess the Trots were miffed that they wouldn't be invited to join the junta.

The author also takes the FoD to task for not backing its theory up with action. This is very ironic, since the FoD Group's main criticism of the CNT was that it failed to have either theory to guide its actions or actions backed by theory.

The issue of leadership is the central point of discussion, however, in both the book and the writings of the FoD. It is on this issue that the author's analytical shortcomings are most apparent. Guíllamón is entirely capable of breaking out of anarcho-sindicalist orthodoxy, though he does so only on one (remarkable) page (83):

"The Group never proposed a break with the CNT, and the denunciation of that organization as one of capitalism's organizations. The ideological premises set out were not

explored in all that they entailed. It was easier to point the accusing finger at a few individuals, a few leaders who advocated a policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie than to arrive at the stark and dismal conclusion that the CNT was an organization for collaborating with the bourgeoisie, by virtue of its very nature as a trade union. *It was not the anarchist ministers who were leading the CNT away from its principles, but rather the CNT that was churning out ministers.*" (Guíllamón's emphasis)

But, just as Guíllamón criticizes the CNT and FoD for refusing to create post-revolutionary roles for themselves in a post-capitalist Spain, he also refuses to acknowledge that it was the *existence* of leadership positions that caused the revolution to fail. Perhaps I'm getting ahead of the discussion here.

What happened on July 16th-21st was a military victory by the working class over the fascist/military uprising against a weak, ineffectual government. But, when the government surrendered to the leaders of the CNT, the leadership promptly recreated the Republic rather than try to consolidate and carry forward the revolution for which it had agitated over several generations. Meanwhile, spontaneous People's Militias had arisen to fight the fascists, the laborers in the countryside were collectivizing the latifundia as the workers were the industries. The revolution was no longer a far-away fantasy. It had happened—the workers had won. But, just to show that anarchists can do things differently, the leadership of the CNT/FAI snatched defeat from the arms of victory by helping the Republican government re-form itself while simultaneously turning back the revolutionary tide which had swept across the liberated territory.

The CNT leadership, when faced with a choice between consolidating the victories achieved by their members and abolishing them in favor of reinstating the control of the Republican state, sided with the government over its members 100% of the time.

It was this selling-out of the revolution that inspired the ideas which led to the formation of the FoD. In a radio broadcast from the Madrid front, Buenaventura Durruti argued in favor of moving forward with the revolution and against replacing the armed people's militias with Republican armed forces. This flew in the face of the CNT's collaborationist policy of working within the government. Some say Durruti was killed by a fascist marksman, others by a communist assassin. Still others believe that he was knocked off by the CNT. In light of their differences in



opinion regarding revolution, the latter is at least as believable as the former.

The FoD Group was determined that Durruti's call for revolution not be buried along with him. After publishing criticisms in the CNT publications *Ideas* and *La Noche*, the FoD was formally created to agitate for what its members believed were the ideas put forward in Durruti's talk on the radio. Among these ideas were: the establishment of a revolutionary junta; the slaughter of counter-revolutionaries, "Absolute working class control of public order," no armistice, fair wages and the control of the economy by the working class. Though they were content at first with distributing handbills, posters and flyers expressing their views, they eventually created their own newspaper, *El Amigo del Pueblo*. Again, I'm getting ahead of the story.

The initial impetus for forming the group was discontent with the CNT militias over militarization. Rank in the revolutionary armed forces was almost nonexistent and those officers who did exist were more like coordinators, "commanding" by persuasion rather than military authority, and were elected to their positions by the troops. Militarization re-established traditional ranks and put the militias under the control of Republican officers who could then disarm workers in favor of a regular army. Incredibly the CNT leadership went along with this scheme.

On May 3, 1937 the FoD found itself in a position to exert considerable influence when the Republican government suddenly assaulted the Barcelona Telephone Exchange, which had been under the control of CNT workers since July 19th the previous year. The workers refused to surrender and a battle took place which quickly spread across Barcelona. Soon the entire city, with the exception of a few barricades, was in the hands of the anarchists—again. And, again, the CNT told the workers to go back to work and surrender their arms. Outraged by the "treacherous" conduct of the CNT officials, the FoD went about the barricades distributing handbills. It encouraged the workers to at least hold onto their weapons, and also to defend the city from an approaching column of Republican assault forces called in to pacify the city. Need I remind the reader that the Republican government was conducting these maneuvers against the workers while fighting a civil war?

Meanwhile, the CNT was waging a war of propaganda against the FoD. Members of the FoD were labelled "provocateurs" and "uncontrollables." In reply, the FoD took a conciliatory approach, and with each issue of its newspaper, toned down its condemnation



Buenaventura Durruti

of the CNT. Though it is understandable that it didn't wish to cause a split within the CNT/FAI rank and file, we will never know what the results would have been if the FoD had split from the CNT altogether in order to position itself as a group devoted to revolution. By trying to promote revolution from within the CNT, it actually strengthened the legitimacy of the collaborationist leadership, in effect disagreeing with it while accepting its authority.

Just as the CNT/FAI had fumbled its chance for consolidating an anarchist revolution after the workers' victory of July 19th, so the FoD let slip its shot at becoming a revolutionary vanguard on May 3rd. Sadly, it was after this missed opportunity that the FoD Group began its greatest propaganda efforts. We can only speculate about what would have happened if FoD had acted differently, just as Noam Chomsky wonders (in his

essay, published in book form in 1997 by Black and Red, "Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship") what the results would have been if the revolution had been extended to Spanish Morocco with the promise of liberation from the Spanish state. What would

have been the result if the FoD had taken its propaganda to the revolutionary militias and the liberated countryside instead of staying in Barcelona? Would the workers have been more enthusiastic in their efforts had they been fighting for a revolution instead of the restoration of a reactionary state? And how would an anarchist-imposed "dictatorship of the working class" be different from the Bolshevik version, if at all?

The FoD is hardly alone in promoting more authoritarian aspects of anarchosyndicalist theory. Or in its utter failure to see the dangers inherent in doing so. Generally speaking, anarchosyndicalists have not learned anything since the '30s, either from the failures of leadership by the CNT or the spectacular successes of Benito Mussolini in Italy or the Peronistas in Argentina, both of whom also proposed the establishment of working class dictatorships.

"Revolutions without theory fail to make progress..." the FoD proclaimed in issue #5 of *El Amigo del Pueblo*, "which hinges upon two essential points that cannot be avoided. A program, and rifles."

Though the CNT was caught unprepared for the victory of the people in arms due to its self-perpetuating role as an oppositional, working-class organization, the Friends of Durruti Group could not back up its program with arms.

In either case, a lack of any sort of post-revolutionary existence was never clearly envisioned. Take away capitalism and the state and what is there left for their opposition to do? To me, this points to the necessity of acting upon our liberatory urges now. Immediately, without waiting for some distant revolution, without any guidance or permission, but with the participation of like-minded individuals. It may be easier to seduce people away from their roles as workers than to wrest control of the world's economy from capitalists and the land from the various nation-states. Of course, so long as people are willing to go along with the daily reproduction of their own oppression, the more difficult task will be creating a liberated existence. So what are you waiting for, amigo?



*Anarchy* is once again exchanging with all other anarchist and genuinely radical (anti-state, anti-capitalist) periodicals. And we will continue to try to review all such periodicals received in future issues. All reviews in this issue are by Jason McQuinn, except those marked [LJ] for Lawrence Jarach.

**Publishers please note:** To ensure that your publications are reviewed in future issues, send all zines and magazines to our current reviewer address: C.A.L. Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446, USA.

## ACTIVE TRANSFORMATION A Direct Action

**Anarchist Newspaper**  
Vol.3, #1/Feb.-March 2000 (POB 11508, Detroit, MI 48211; or POB 6746, Lansing, MI 48826; e-mail: activetrans@hotmail.com) is a 12-page tabloid featuring activist news from around the world. This issue features a reprint from *The Match!* of Paul Roasberry's "Living in Littleton: Columbine, Christians and Cops" (giving the perspective of an anarchist father on having his daughter caught in the Columbine High School massacre), "The World vs. WTO: Lowdown on the Showdown," and an "Interview with a Black Bloc Participant," plus the ACME Collective's "Black Bloc Communiqué." A very good issue this time around! Subscriptions are \$6/6 issues (free to prisoners).

## ANARCHIST AGE WEEKLY REVIEW

#390/Mar.6, 2000 (POB 20, Parkville, Victoria 3052, Australia; web site: [www.vicnet.net.au/~anarchist](http://www.vicnet.net.au/~anarchist) & [www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/3879](http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/3879); e-mail: [anarchist\\_age@geocities.com](mailto:anarchist_age@geocities.com)) is a neatly-produced little 6-page weekly bulletin summarizing Australian & international news for libertarians down-under. Weekly updates are available on the web site and subscriptions are \$50/50 issues or \$10/10 issues.

## ANY TIME NOW

**Anarchist-Decentralist Newsletter**  
#7/Summer-Fall, #8/Fall '99 & #9/Spring '2000 (Affinity Place, Argenta, B.C. V0G 1B0, Canada; <http://sites.netscape.net/anytime> now) is a 6 to 8-page discussion zine for libertarian "moderation." Issue #7 includes a bizarre defense of Ed Stamm's anarcho-liberalism from well-deserved criticism in the *Anarchy* #47 letters column, along with a reprint of Ed Stamm's marginally improved letter from *Anarchy* #48. Issue #8 includes Ed Stamm's criticisms of Noam Chomsky's recent practical defense of welfare state institutions,

# Anarchist press review

Compiled by Jason McQuinn & Lawrence Jarach

which seem to be generating a lot of criticism from many directions within the anarchist milieu. And issue #9 includes Stamm's bizarre public condemnation of anti-WTO property-destruction in Seattle, phrased as if he is speaking as the pope of the movement, along with Dick Martin's pronouncement that Black Bloc anarchists are "anti-social wreckers and irresponsible exhibitionists." Each issue is good for a few laughs. Subscriptions are \$1/issue.

## THE BLACK-CLAD MESSENGER Actualizing Industrial Collapse

#8/undated (POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97401) is an energetic, unpaginated zine that "wants to hasten the disappearance of this whole stinking order." No truck with liberalism or leftism here. This issue includes diverse material on the WTO protests in Seattle (including the ACME collective's widely circulated "N30 Black Bloc Communiqué"), along with a reprint of John Zerzan's "Nihilist's Dictionary" entry on "Division of Labor" (from *Anarchy*). Send a contribution for a copy.

## BAD PRESS BROADSIDE

#2/Nov.'99 & #3/Jan. 2000 (Bad Press, POB 3682, Kansas City, KS 66103-0682; email: [bbrigade@world.std.com](mailto:bbrigade@world.std.com)) is an occasional one-page broadside from an individualist anarchist perspective. Broadside #2 is "Anarchism without Hyphens," given a minimum definition of anarchism as "opposition to authority imposed through the hierarchical power of the state." Issue #3, titled "Free Trade vs. Fair Trade," provides an overly simplistic, but readable individualist-anarchist perspective on world trade. Send an SASE for a sample.

## DISCUSSION BULLETIN

#97/Sept.-Oct. '99 through #100/Mar.-April 2000 (POB 1564, Grand Rapids, MI. 49501) is a 32-page assortment of letters and reprinted articles primarily from the anti-market, non-statist radical milieu. Each issue usually includes several ongoing debates over the meanings of communism, Marxism, unionism, democracy and revolution, with some occasionally interesting and enlightening com-

ments. The March-April issue includes some good coverage of the anti-WTO protests in Seattle, including Loren Goldner's "Seattle: The First U.S. Riot against Globalization," along with an atrociously-argued "press release" signed by 10 people titled "Anarchists Condemn Anti-WTO Riots." Wide open to participation from readers. Subscriptions are \$3/year (6 issues).



## DO OR DIE

#8/"Pre-Millennium Tension Issue" (c/o 6 Tilbury Place, Brighton, East Sussex, BN2 2GY, U.K.; web site: [www.eco-action.org/dod/](http://www.eco-action.org/dod/)) is an overwhelmingly huge (348 pages) journal—of exceedingly small-print articles—billed as "Voices from the ecological resistance." I have to admit that I've never actually read any earlier issues, primarily because the size of the journal, coupled with the small print, made the task too daunting for my failing eyesight and my already hopelessly overcrowded reading schedule. I always thought I'd get to it...later. Well, I was wrong to put it off. Now that I've recently obtained some cheap reading glasses and actually started looking at the latest issue, I can see that this is something no anti-authoritarian with any interest in ecology and resistance (and with good eyesight) should be without! The contents of this issue are way too long to even summarize properly, but I'll do my best to give you a taste of what is cov-

ered: "Friday, June 18th 1999: Confronting Capital and Smashing the State" (including an account of the organization of the London J18 protests which made headlines around the world and descriptions of various aspects of the global day of revolt), "Globalization: Origins-History-Analysis-Resistance," "Pirate Utopias: Under the Banner of King Death," "Let Patriarchy Burn! a Feminist Rant," "The New Luddite War: We Will Destroy Genetic Engineering," and another badly needed critique of "Biocentrism: Ideology Against Nature." This journal is big enough to break some windows and bad enough to change some of your ideas. Pick up a copy as soon as you can! The cover price is £3.60. No subscriptions, but advance orders for the next issue are £6. (I think \$10 each should do it if you want to order copies direct from the publisher.)

## FIFTH ESTATE

#354/Spring 2000 (4632 Second Ave., Detroit, MI 48201) is the long-running, 28-page anti-civilization, anarcho-primitivist tabloid, often publishing some of the more intelligent writing within the radical milieu. This issue focusses on reactions to and analyses of the WTO protests in Seattle, including contributions by David Solnit, Starhawk, Michael Albert (for a token anti-anarchist contribution?), Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, and Alexander Cockburn & Jeffrey St. Clair, along with a reprint of the ubiquitous ACME Collective Black Bloc Communiqué. Also in this issue is a newly found piece of writing (a short critique of the concept of natural rights) from Voltairine de Cleyre, David Watson's "Humble Call to Subvert the Human Empire" (from his recent collection *Against the Megamachine*), and Kerry Moog's "Short History of Radical Puppetry." Single copies are \$2; subscriptions are \$8/4 issues.

## FREEDOM

### Anarchist Fortnightly

Vol.60, #19/Oct.2,'99 through Vol.61, #5/March 11, 2000 (84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, England) is a long-running 8-page tabloid of anarchist news and comment covering international, as well as British, social struggles. The October 2nd issue examines "Agents of engineered cuisine and their enemies." The December 11th issue includes coverage of the anti-globalization protests in London and Seattle of November 30. Still the most frequently appearing anarchist periodical in English. North American



subscriptions are £22/year (24 issues).

## GREEN ANARCHIST

**For the destruction of Civilization**  
#59/Spring 2000 (POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440, USA; or BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX, England) is an uneven but always interesting 20-page eco-anarchist, anti-civilization tabloid with a big emphasis on direct actions. The Spring "End of Humanity" issue includes good eyewitness accounts of the anti-WTO protests in Seattle and London, along with an unattributed piece titled "A Future for Humanity?", an excerpt from Lewis Mumford's *Pentagon of Power* on "Encapsulated Man," Steve Booth's moralistic perspective on "Justice," John Moore on "The Sixties," and Rob lost Ricos' witty diatribe against "Imposed Imbecility." Each issue also includes a "Diary of Ecodefence," a "Diary of Animal Liberation," and a "Diary of Community Collapse & Resistance" (for those patient enough to sort through hundreds of entries), as well as reviews, commentary and much more. This zine is well worth the price with sample copies \$2 or £1, and subscriptions \$10 or £5/5 issues.

## MINUS TIDES!

Vol.11, #1/Summer 1999 (POB 47, Denman Island, B.C., V0R 1T0, Canada) is a nicely-done, 28-page anarchist lit-zine, featuring fiction, poetry, opinion & graphic art. This issue includes an anti-wage-work piece titled "On our backs" by Orang atan, an account of "Surrealism in Romania," and a bound-in pamphlet version of George Bradford's powerful anti-civilization essay "We All Live in Bhopal." Send \$3 for a sample copy; subscriptions are \$10/4 issues.

## THE RAVEN

### Anarchist Quarterly

#39/Summer '99 (Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High St, London, E1 7QX, England) is a 96-page journal covering a different subject in each issue—this Summer it's "Culture and Ideology." It includes an account of media falsification by Merrick titled "There's a Riot Going On," Ronald Creagh's attempt to come to terms with the massive changes in the anarchist movement in this century in "Mutating Anarchism," and David Koven's "A Soliloquy on Anarchism and Culture," (a somewhat defeatist critique of anarchist revolutionaries in favor of building anarchist culture and community here and now). Subscriptions are £14/year (around \$20).



## REVOLT

#10/undated (Anarchist Action Collective [AAC], POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440) is a 28-page, photocopied zine from the thriving, militant anarchist milieu in Eugene, Oregon. This issue focusses on two general topics: sexuality and illegality. On the sexuality side articles include a short description of Homo sapiens' closest primate species relative in "Bonobos: Organic Humanoids," "Primitive Nude Living," and a very poorly written critique of monogamy titled "Anarchy & Sexuality." While on the illegality front there is a two-page news section titled "Deranged: News of the Disordered," and a translation of Pierleone Porcu on "Social Conflict," short contributions from Jean Weir, Alfredo Bonanno, Rob Thaxton, and even a reprint of Doug Imrie on "The Illegalists" (from *Anarchy*). Copies are free, but send 55¢ for postage.

## SOCIAL ANARCHISM

### A Journal of Theory and Practice

#27/1999 (Atlantic Center for Research and Education, 2473 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218; web site: [www.nothingness.org/sociala/](http://www.nothingness.org/sociala/); e-mail: [sociala@nothingness.org](mailto:sociala@nothingness.org)) is a no-frills, 96-page biannual journal which aims to de-emphasize anarchist individualist traditions and focus on specifically social forms of non-authoritarian, non-violent theory and practice. This issue features a fairly interesting autopsy report on the Columbine High School shootings spectacle by editor Howard Ehrlich, Kingsley Widmer's renewed call for a "broad," "protean" anarchism (with tolerance for non-revolutionary reformism), an excerpt from Sharon Presley's forthcoming book on anarchist Voltairine de Cleyre focussing on her feminism, along with the usual large space devoted

to book reviews. Single copy \$5.00; subscriptions \$16/4 issues or \$25/4 issues (overseas).

## THE THOUGHT

#116/Jan.-Feb. 2000 (Philosophers Guild, POB 10760, Glendale, AZ 85318-0760; e-mail: [guildmaster@worldnet.att.net](mailto:guildmaster@worldnet.att.net)) is 26-page newsletter covering an eclectic range of topics. This issue includes editor Ron Tobin's deflation of premature millennium celebrations, and a reprint of a BAD Broadside (#17) on "Privatization? It doesn't go far enough!" Single copies are \$2; subscriptions are \$11/6 issues.

## WE DARE BE FREE

#6/Spring 2000 (POB 230685, Boston, MA 02123) is a relatively new, 20-page anarcho-communist tabloid published for the New England region. This issue includes some good first-person coverage of "The Battle of Seattle: Globalized Capitalism and its Discontents," along with an anti-WTO declaration from the Workers Solidarity Movement in Ireland, a reprint of Alain Pengam's history of "Anarchist Communism" (from Rubel and Crump's *Non-Market Socialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*), and lots of international resistance news accounts. Sample copies are \$1; back issues are available for \$2.



## WILLFUL DISOBEDIENCE

### Hopefully an Anarchist Monthly

Vol.2, #1/Jan. 2000 (Venomous Butterfly Publications, 41 Sutter St, Suite 1661, San Francisco, CA 94104) is an unpaginated zine of unapologetic rebellion aiming at amoral, anarchic insurrection. It's back after a year and a half hiatus and the publisher now hopes to make it into a monthly. This issue

features many news items covering militant, sometimes insurrectionary direct action incidents in the U.S. (especially against genetically engineered research crops and in Seattle against the WTO last November) and trials of anarchists in Spain, Italy and Greece, along with commentary on the "humanitarian" NATO bombing of Serbia, and more. This is one of the more consistently intelligent anarchist voices currently publishing. Highly recommended. Sample copies are \$1 each, while subscriptions are \$10/12 issues.

## Non-English-language materials received

### CNT

#### Organ of the National Condecoration of Labor

#254/Jan. 2000 (Box 4040, 18080 Granada, Spain) Monthly paper of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist union. Reports on antifascist actions and demonstrations in solidarity with Chechens and Mumia Abu-Jamal; critiques of the actions and policies of socialist and communist unions; short report on the attempted arson of *Le Monde Libertaire*, the French anarchist newspaper; anti-superrailway demonstrations in the Basque country. In Spanish. 200 pesetas. [LJ]

### EL LIBERTARIO

#### Organ of the Libertarian Federation of Argentina

Vol.15, #45/July-Aug. '99 (Brasil 1551, Buenos Aires 1154, Argentina) Bi-monthly paper of the Argentine branch of the International Federation of Anarchists. Reprint of the declaration of the IFA against war; excerpts of Étienne de la Boétie's classic essay "An essay on voluntary servitude"; reprint of an article from 1942 by CNT exiles in Argentina; yet another reprint of a 1934 article by Diego Abad de Santillan. In Spanish. One buck. [LJ]

### DIABOLO IN CORPO

#### Rivista Di Critica Sociale

No.1/Dec. '99 (Scoppetta Maria Grazia C.P 1301 10100 Torino, Italy) Nice looking thick (72 pages) review of social and political criticism from a decidedly antiauthoritarian perspective. Essays from a variety of positions, many translations from French and English, including a critique of representative politics, several articles on the military interventions in Bosnia and Kosovo, a fresh look at the burning of the Reichstag by Marinus Van Der Lubbe, a Dutch ultra-left communist, and a survey of revolutionary Russian art from the early



# Alternative Media Review

1900s. They have reprinted a couple of collages that appeared in *Anarchy* without credit. In Italian. 6000 lire. [LJ]

## GRASWURZEL REVOLUTION

No.241/Sept.'99 (Gravelotstr. 6 81667 Munchen, Germany) Anti-militarist nonviolent monthly. Lots on the NATO bombing of Kosovo; interview with a Turkish military resister/anarchist; stuff about Chiapas; an article on communal housing; concert review; weekly activity calendar. In German. No price listed. [LJ]

## SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA

Organ of the Regional Confederation of Labor in Catalonia

No.291/Oct.'99 (Hospital 101 08001 Barcelona, Spain) Spanish anarcho-syndicalist monthly. Cover on the abstentionist campaign concerning the National Council of Catalan Youth; a Swedish anti-fascist murdered; the ongoing repression of dissidents in Chile; a

review of the film *Z*. In Spanish. 100 pesetas. [LJ]

## EKINTZA ZUZENA

No.25 & 26 (Ediciones E.Z. Apdo. 235 48080 Bilbao Bizkaia/Spain) Quarterly review of radical analysis. Number 25 includes material on "Emotional Literacy" a translation of Bob Black's classic essay "The Abolition of Work," and critiques of genetic engineering and the ongoing sanctions against Iraq. Number 26 includes an article against the construction of the trans-European superrailway through the Basque country, a translation of Ken Knabb's "War and the Spectacle," an essay on Ritalin, and an article entitled "The Emotional Roots of Authority and Property." In Spanish and Euskara (Basque). 400 pesetas. [LJ]

## Non-anarchist periodicals

### DIE ROTE HILFE

No.4-99/Oct-Dec.'99 (Postfach 6444, 24125 Kiel, Germany) Quar-

terly magazine of Red Help, a German antifascist organization. Regional and international reports of demonstrations in solidarity with imprisoned activists, especially members of the RAF who are still being held and Kurds. This issue

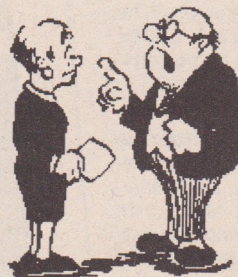
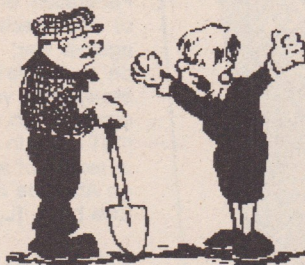
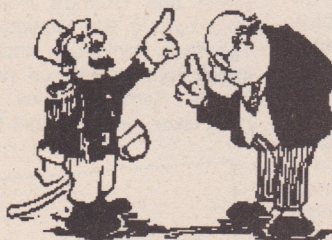
follows up on the subject of the politics of the RAF that was begun in number 3/99; controversy surrounding the place of support for the RAF militants within the wider context of antifascist solidarity. In German. 3.50 DM. [LJ]

## RIP WTO N30

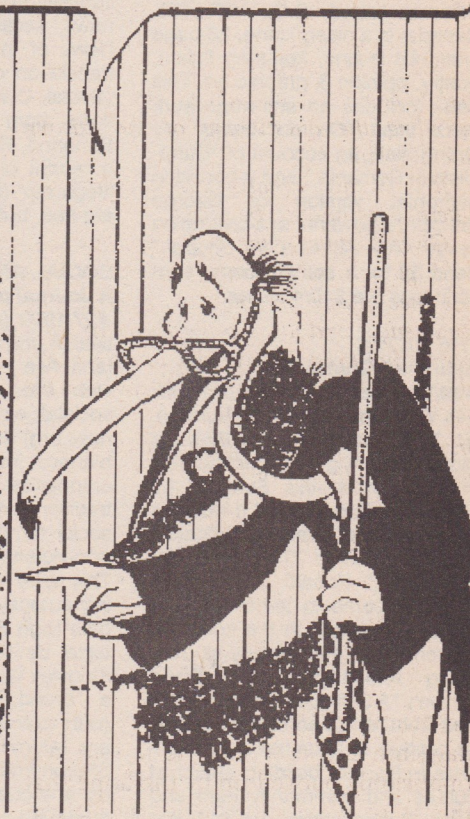
**C.A.L. Press is now distributing RIP WTO N30.**

This 20-minute video presents protester's-eye-views of the blockades, marches, festivities and police attacks that collectively made history—and in the process helped derail the WTO and serve notice that capitalist globalization will be hotly contested in the new millennium. (See the review on page 19.)

**RIP WTO N30 is \$10.00 postpaid from: C.A.L. Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446, USA.** (Or, get a *free* copy with an 8-issue subscription—or renewal—to *Anarchy* magazine! A subscription blank is on page 83.)



**BOSSES AND BOSSED**  
HAVE THE KIND OF RELATIONSHIP  
WHICH CAUSES MISERY  
AT EVERY LEVEL.



By Donald Room (Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, England).



# The State is the Worst Terrorist —No Apologies Ever!

A declaration from Polish & Russian anarchists

On the night of Feb. 23, a group of anarchists from Poznan held a demonstration in front of the Russian Consulate. During the action, demonstrators entered the terrain of the consulate and ripped down the Russian flag, tearing and treading on it. They also defaced the consulate by spray-painting swastikas on it. This action resulted in an international scandal as the Russian government demanded an official apology from the Polish one, punishment against the demonstrators, a crackdown on Chechen and pro-Chechen activity in Poland and an end to all such protest. The State Duma has labelled the incident "an act of international terrorism."

In response to the Poznan action, extreme nationalists from the National Bolshevik Party firebombed the Polish Embassy in Moscow on the night of Feb. 25. The next day, over 200 thugs, including Cossacks and fascists in military uniforms, attacked the embassy again, throwing things and setting the Polish flag on fire.

We, as anarchists, would like to declare that the Polish government cannot apologize for our actions. No apologies are due. We see the bombing of Chechnya and Russia's murder of innocent civilians as a crime against humanity. For this, the Russian authorities should apologize to the world. Any protest against this war is nothing more than justified.

As anarchists, we do not hate any people because of their nationality but we also do not respect any national flags, regardless of to whom they belong. The action in Poznan was not directed against Russian people, many of whom also oppose this filthy war, but was directed against the actions of the Russian government. It has no right to be outraged at these actions. They are a normal response to Russia's outrageous war and inhuman activity. Citizens of the world must raise their voices to protest any time a government takes military action against people, no matter which government it is. We anarchists see ourselves as citizens of the world but subjects of no government. No government has the right to speak for us, no less the right to apologize for us.

We demand that the Russian government stop its war in Chechnya and leave those people to determine their own affairs on their own territory. We say to hell with the Duma and its warped conception of "international terrorism." The Duma is made up of bandits and terrorists. We say to the National Bolshe-

viks that if they really loved their country so much, they would take action to stop their government's criminal activity instead of fighting a war of diversion. We will not fight for any governments or their flags. We will not fight in the interests of the state. The interest of the state and of the people are never the same thing.

DOWN WITH ALL GOVERNMENTS  
—THEY ARE THE MAIN TERRORISTS!

The Russian-Polish Anarchist Friendship  
Society  
Polish Anarchist Federation  
The Black Sea Anarchist Federation

## Anarchists Protest from atop Lenin Mausoleum

Anarchist protesters climbed onto the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow's Red Square on Thursday, Dec. 9, a rare demonstration at this shrine of the former Soviet Union.

A Moscow police spokesman said five young protesters climbed onto the red marble building which has entombed the mum-

mified corpse of the first Soviet dictator, Vladimir Lenin, since 1924.

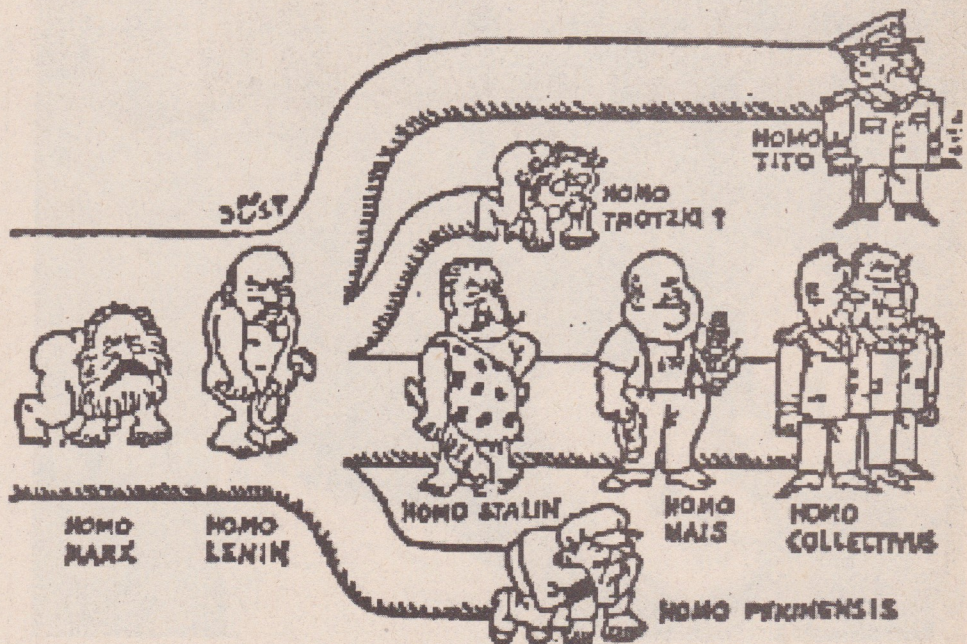
The protesters climbed to the top of the building to stand where Soviet leaders used to watch tanks, soldiers and missiles parade across Red Square in annual commemoration of the Bolshevik Revolution, draping a white banner with the words "Against Everyone" scrawled on it over the large "LENIN" inscription which fronts the mausoleum—until policemen hustled them away.

For an offense that once might have landed them in jail for several years, Itar-Tass news agency quoted an official as saying the youngsters would be charged with public mischief and fined just 30 rubles, or around one U.S. dollar.

Russia's NTV television said the protesters were radical anarchists and showed pictures of them running across Red Square and making it to the top of the mausoleum unhindered.

They stood there for several minutes before a police officer managed to reach them and tear the banner out of their hands. Other police officers seemed to react slowly to an incident, which in the Soviet era would have been severely punished.

Although the mausoleum is now as much a tourist attraction as a political shrine, its place on Red Square is strongly defended by Communists, who revere Lenin as the founder of the Soviet state.







Dear comrades,

The following text is a translation of what Nikos Maziotis said to the court during his trial which took place from the 5th to the 7th of July, 1999 in Athens, Greece.

He was convicted with a 15-year prison sentence for "attempted explosion with danger for human lives" and "possession of guns and explosives" for his action of placing a bomb in the Ministry of Industry and Development on 6/12/97 in solidarity with the revolt of the villages in Strymonikos against the installation of a gold metallurgy plant by the multinational company TVX GOLD. During the trial he again politically supported his choices, as he did from the beginning when he had sent a letter from prison with which he took responsibility for the action against the Ministry. However, he never accepted the charges of the state, as revolutionary acts cannot be described in terms of the penal code. In that sense, this trial was not a typical procedure of convicting someone who pleads "guilty." Instead it turned into a political confrontation between Nikos and his prosecutors, as well as between his comrades, anarchists and revolutionaries and the state and its mechanisms.

This confrontation was strongly supported by the presence of comrades from Sardinia (Costantino Cavalleri), Italy (Alfredo Bonanno) and France (Hellyette Bess)—who testified in the court in solidarity with Nikos—and by letters sent in support by the imprisoned militants of Action Directe, France, by the ABC of Barcelona and by other anarchist groups from Spain. All these together, along with the presence inside and outside the court of anarchist comrades and of course the speech of Nikos Maziotis in response to his prosecutors, gave a sense of the international struggle for freedom and of solidarity with all the people in revolt, with all political prisoners captured in moments of the social and class war against the state and the capital.

Solidarity,  
Comrades from the Anarchist Circle  
and collective Anarchists in Solidarity



# The Plea of Nikos Maziotis to the Athens Criminal Court

**F**irst, I do not intend to pretend to be the "good guy" here where I was forced to come. I will not plead for anything, because I do not consider myself a criminal. I am a revolutionary. I have nothing to repent. I am proud of what I have done. The only thing I regret is the technical error that was made so that the bomb didn't explode such that my fingerprint was found on it afterward and I ended up here. This is the only thing I repent. And something else also. All that stuff shouldn't have been at my house. It should have been kept somewhere else.

You must have in mind that although you are judges and sitting higher than me, many times revolutionaries, and myself specifically, have judged you long before you judge me. We are in opposite camps, hostile camps. The revolutionaries and revolutionary justice (because I don't believe that this court is justice, it's the word justice in quotation marks) many times judge their enemies more mercilessly, when they get the chance to impose justice.

I will begin many years ago. We don't have any crime of mine to judge here. On the contrary, we will talk about crimes, but not mine. We will talk about the crimes of the state, of its mechanisms, of justice and police crimes....

The first time I can say I was politicized is when I took part in a demonstration in 1985. It was the 17th of November. I was fourteen then, and one policeman, Melistas, shot and killed a fifteen year-old, Kaltezas. I had not participated in the riots of that night. The same evening after the murder the Chemistry School was occupied and in the morning special forces carried out a police raid on the building to evacuate it and they arrested the anarchists and youths who were inside. The next day five thousand people occupied the Polytechnic School—if I remember correctly because I was young then and didn't have much information. These occupations were precisely a reaction to the murder of Kaltezas by policeman Melistas. "Justice," five years later, in January of 1990, found Melistas innocent.

What I mean by saying this is that in reality you are abettors of crimes, at least according to me. Then, in January and February of '90 I took part in the occupation of the Polytechnic, which occurred as a reaction to the court-decision which found Melistas not guilty for the murder of Kaltezas. There were riots and damages, store windows were broken, stones and molotov cocktails

thrown.... I participated in these events. From then on I could consciously say I was an anarchist.

And when I say anarchist, I mean that I am against the state and capital. That our purpose is to subvert the state and the capitalist regime. We want a society without classes, without hierarchy and without domination. The biggest lie of all times is that the state is society. I think Nietzsche has also said this—that the state lies.

We are opposed to the division of society into classes, we are against a separation between those who give orders and others who obey orders. This authoritarian structure penetrates the whole of society and it is this structure that we want to destroy. Either with peaceful or with violent means—even with guns. I have no problem with that.

I will contradict my brother who said before that he didn't want the guns in order to make war. They were for war. Maybe they were just kept there, but the guns are for war. You don't just have them to keep them at home. I might have kept them as they were, but they are to make war and I make war.... The bomb in the ministry was an act of war.

Since 1990 I have been convicted many times for my actions, for multiform actions.

I was convicted because I refused to serve the army. Not because I have any problem with weapons or with violence, I repeated that in the military court. The fact that this time I was arrested in possession of guns means that I have no problem with weapons or with violence. I am not at all a pacifist. Because neither society nor the state are peaceful. As long as I receive violence I will respond with violence.

I spent seven months in a military prison. I have been convicted for deserting the army and for evasion of military services. The second time I was released after 51 days of a hunger strike.

I have been arrested in '94 in the occupation of the Economic university along with 51 comrades of mine, when Giorgos Balafas and Odysseas Kampouris were on hunger strike. This occupation of the Economic School was also an action of solidarity. In conditions where we couldn't gather anywhere, nor demonstrate, we had decided to squat a university and use it as a center of counter-information about the cases of Giorgos Balafas and Odysseas Kampouris, who were then imprisoned.

In '95 I was arrested with 500 other people

in the revolt of the Polytechnic in November. That occupation happened because there were many different political prisoners in jail—Kostas Kalaremas, Odysseas Kampouris, Giorgos Balafas who was arrested again in the meantime, Spyros Dapergolas, Christoforos Marinos and four persons from Thessaloniki who were arrested when the demonstration in which they were participating was attacked by the police on the 14th of November—and because there was a prisoners' revolt going on in Koridallios jail. For this occupation I was at last sentenced to one year imprisonment along with many others of my comrades. In all these actions my comrades and myself have taken complete responsibility.

So, during this decade since I can call myself an anarchist, I have used many forms of action. I have written and distributed leaflets. I took part in posterings. I participated in occupations, violent or peaceful. For example, the occupation of the Economic School didn't have any violent character but the Special Police Units and the Riot Police invaded and arrested us. There were even policemen of the Special Units wearing ski-masks who entered in order to break the chains on the gate.

In the case of the Polytechnic we didn't pretend to be innocent, still without accepting the specific charges we were accused of. We explained why we went in the Polytechnic. Some time after, when I was court-martialed in February of '98, I personally took responsibility for burning a Greek flag. I said that I burnt it. I consider it to be a symbol of a hostile force. With anyone having the Greek flag I see my enemy, because the policemen have it on their uniforms, and the marshals.... It is the symbol of the enemy.

Our purpose, within the anti-state and anti-capitalist struggle, is to connect ourselves with the different social struggles. Our purpose also when interfering in these struggles is to attempt to take things to the edge, which means to culminate the conflict of these social parts with the state and the police. To urge the people fighting to transcend institutional frameworks—the trade-unions, the local administrations and all those manipulators who are enemies of human freedom. Many comrades of mine, with their small forces, were engaged in such struggles. I will tell you about them more specifically.

In 1989, in a struggle of environmental interest in the village of Aravissos, the resi-



dents of the area didn't want their water sources to be exploited by the Water Company of Thessaloniki. They clashed with the police and the riot police, the burnt water pumps, set fires and built barricades.... And some of our comrades from Thessaloniki took part in this struggle and were even arrested.

In 1990 the aggression of neo-liberalism began in Greece (an aggression that internationally had begun in the '80s with the Reagan and Thatcher governments), including de-industrialization, workers' dismissals, privatization, restriction of the welfare state, reductions in salaries, pensions and medical treatment.... This attack that started in Europe and North America in the beginning of the '80s only started in 1990 in Greece.

The first project was the "problematic" companies. In that section also, during the period of 1990-91, there were occupations in many factories of the country—in Mantoudi, Lavrio, Patras. Again, some comrades of ours, with their small powers, were there. More specifically in Mantoudi and in the Piraiki-Patraiki factory which is located in Patras.

After that we have the pupils' movement of '90-91 which was a grand one in to my opinion. It managed to subvert the law of the Minister of Education Kontogiannopoulos, who finally resigned. The right-wing government, in its effort to repress the movement, had mobilized its thugs in order to smash the school occupations, resulting in the murder of a teacher, Nikos Temponeras, inside an occupied school in Patras. It was one more crime of the state. Here we will count the crimes of the state, no crime of mine.

Responding to the murder of Temponeras there was a demonstration of thousands of people. We participated too, to sharpen the situation. There were conflicts with the police, the Polytechnic was occupied once again for two days. Flames, barricades, damage.... There was also another crime those days, in the 10th of January '91. During the riots, tear-gas bombs thrown by the police caused a fire in the building of K. Marousi, a shopping-center in Panepistimiou street. Four people died there due to this fire. For this crime nobody has yet paid, nor did "justice" say anything. It was covered up.

One year after, in the summer of 1992, my comrades—not me personally but this doesn't matter—participated in the clashes around Votanikos central bus-station, when the government attempted to privatize Public Transports. There were conflicts between the workers and the police. Then, some workers in the Public Transports went to prison accused of sabotage. They were smashing private buses belonging to the ruffian owners who had bought them. There also, anarchists were present.

Before referring to the struggle in Strymonikos, I want to mention the most recent examples: the jobless teachers the previous

year and the pupils' movement in the winter of '98-'99. We were present there as well. A comrade who testified yesterday, Vasilis Evagelidis, tried to talk about it. He was arrested in the clashes that took place in January of '99 in a pupils' demonstration.

Generally, wherever there are disturbances, wherever there are conflicts we want to be

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involved—to subvert things. For us, this is not a crime. In a real sense, these disturbances are the "popular sovereignty" that professional politicians keep talking about. That's where freedom is expressed....

Now let's talk about the struggle of the people in Strymonikos. Long before I placed the bomb, other comrades had been in the villages. They had been talking with the people there. They had published a brochure about this revolt, about the clashes in October of 1996. But I will talk more specifically about the struggle in Strymonikos in a little while. First, I want to talk exclusively about the action.

To tell the truth, I was inspired to put this bomb for a specific reason: The people of the villages broke the usual limits by themselves. If it had been a struggle inside institutional frameworks—in the way that trade unions and local administrations try to keep these struggles restricted, if it was confined in a mild, harmless and nondangerous protest, maybe I wouldn't have done anything.

But the comrades up there in the villages—who are not anarchists, of course, but I don't care about that, they are citizens who also want their freedom—had exceeded every limit. They had conflicts with the police three times—on the 17th of October 1996, on the 25th of July '97 and on November 9 '98. They had set fire to police cars and vans of the riot police. They had burnt machinery belonging to TVX, they had invaded the mines of Olympiada and destroyed

part of the installations. Some of them also made a kind of guerrilla war. In the nights, they were going out with guns, shooting in the air to frighten the policemen. And I thought, these people are cool. They've gone even further than us.

And then repression followed, especially in '97 when there was marshal law imposed in the area. The Chief of Police in Halkidiki gave an order according to which all gatherings and demonstrations were forbidden. They also sent special police units and police tanks, which came onto the streets for the first time since 1980. Now they were sending them out again in the villages of Halkidiki. So, I thought, we must do something here, in Athens. It is not possible that the others are under repression and we are here staying passive.

The ministry of Industry and Development, in Papadiamadopoulou and Michalakopoulou streets, was one of the centers of this case. The struggle in Strymonikos was a struggle against "development," against "modernization" and all this crap they keep proclaiming. What is hidden behind all these expressions is the profits of multinationals, the profits of "our own" capitalists, Greek capitalists, the profits of states officials, of the Greek state, of the bureaucrats, of all those who take the money, of technical companies.... There is no relevance between this "development" and "modernization" they are talking about and the satisfaction of popular needs. No relevance at all.

So, I placed a bomb. The purpose was as I said in the letter with which I took responsibility for the action. In the passage of February '98 I said that in placing the explosive device my purpose was to send a double political message. Everything is political. Even if you use such means, the messages are political. War itself is a means of political pressure. In this case, this was also a political means, a political practice. First of all, a message to the people of Strymonikos that "you are not alone, there are also others who may live 600 km away from you but care." Not for personal reasons...I don't know anyone from there personally. Other comrades know people there. I haven't even been there. It was not my house that was threatened, but this is not the point.

Simply, my principle—and generally the principle of anarchists and of other non-anarchist revolutionaries—is that social freedom is one and inseparable. So, if freedom is partially offended, in essence it is offended as a whole. If their freedom is offended, mine is offended too. Their war will be my war, especially in an area where the "sovereign people"—again an expression used by professional politicians—does not want what the state and the capital want: the gold metallurgy of TVX.

On the other hand, I have said that, OK, there would be some damage—I knew that. Yes, I had the intention to cause material damages. So, what damage would that be? On the win-



dows, on that certain place, what kind of damage? Or outside the storehouse where I placed the bomb? In my opinion the damages would be minimal. But even if they were more than minimal, for me it is not important at all. Because freedom can't be compared with the material damage of some windows, on a state car or state property. For me, the ministry is not an institution of common benefit as the charges say. Of state benefit yes, but of social benefit no.

However, even if the device did not explode, I sent my message. I was caught because I made that technical error and I left a fingerprint, but even if there was no material damage at all the message was sent. And you received it, the state received it, but also the people of Strymonikos received it. I know that they are saying I am one of them, even if they have never met me. There is nothing better than that. And of course, I repeat that I don't regret it at all.

I am a social revolutionary, and when you say that it is like talking for the benefit of society. Not like—it is for the social benefit. As I have this principle I couldn't harm any citizen. I could harm a policeman. I consider them my enemies. And you are my enemies too. I separate you. I make a clear class separation. On one hand we have those, on the other hand, we have the others. In this occasion though I intended to harm neither the policeman who guarded the ministry nor anybody else—and of course not a citizen.

The procedure that is used by groups or individuals in general is exactly this: you first place the bomb in your target and then you call to a newspaper. In this case, I called to *Eleftherotypia* and said: In half an hour a bomb will explode there. Exactly what is written in the evidence: "In 30 minutes there will be an explosion in the Ministry of Industry and Development, for the case of TVX in Strymonikos." By this sense, as it was proven practically and not hypothetically, the police arrived at the place in time. The first of them who went there surrounded and evacuated the area for 200m around the building, as the police specialists themselves admitted, so that there wouldn't be any car or person accidentally passing by. And then they waited for the bomb to explode. As they have already said, they were waiting for the safety time to expire, which is the 30 minutes that I had given! Whether the bomb would or wouldn't explode there was absolutely no danger for humans lives. In case that it exploded, there would be only material damages. So, it would happen exactly as was intended to happen. Objectively, if the device had exploded there was no chance of an accident, like exploding before or after the time given.

And exactly because of the message being political and symbolic, it was not in my purpose to cause extensive material damages; that's why I used a small quantity of dynamite. And I had the possibility to put five or seven or ten

kilos if I had wanted to.... But I didn't. Since there were such things found in my house, I could have caused great damage, always talking about material damages! But I didn't. If I could have demolished the whole building of the ministry without having killed anyone, I wouldn't have any objection. It is another useless building for the people and for society. As

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I said before, the only thing I regret is the technical error on the device.

Now, I want to say something in advance. This action was performed only by me, I did it alone, there was nobody else. The message of course said "Anarchist Urban Guerrillas." This doesn't mean that there were other persons aside from me.... It was just an expression to imply which milieu I come from. Of course, I wouldn't use my name "Nikos Maziotis" to tell the newspaper where I placed the bomb. I'd say "Anarchists." That's all. I want to make it clear, finally, that the initiative for this action was mine only, there was neither a group nor an organization nor anything. And also, it doesn't appear even from the evidence that there was a group or an organization, that I would supply any group or organization. I was alone and the things found were only mine.

I want to refer more to what I call solidarity, to the motives that I had. What is this solidarity. I believe that people socialized—that human society was created—based on three components: solidarity, mutuality and helping each other. That's what human freedom is based on. Any social group in struggle, in different space and time—whether they are pupils or farmers or citizens of local societies, for me and for anarchists is very important. It doesn't have to do with whether I am a worker and identifying my interests with the interests of that class. If someone asks for a higher salary or has a trade-unionist demand for me that is not important.

For me, solidarity means the unreserved acceptance and support with every means of the right that the people must have to determine their lives as they wish, and not letting others to decide in default of them, like the state and the capital do.

That means that in this specific case, in the struggle of Strymonikos but also in every social struggle, for me what counts mostly is that they are struggles through which the people want to determine their fates alone. And not having any police chief or any state official or capitalist deciding what they should do. It is of secondary importance if they want or don't want the factory, if the focal point of the struggle is environmental. The important thing is that they don't want the factory because they don't like something imposed on them with violence.

Concerning the matter of political violence now, from the very beginning they tried to present a case of "repulsive criminals" and "terrorists" who "blindly" placed bombs." Something that doesn't exist.

If theoretically terrorism is exercising violence against citizens and unarmed population, that goes exclusively for the state. Only the state attacks civilians. That's what the repression mechanisms are for: the riot police, special police units, the army, special forces...mechanisms that also rob the people. They finance armed professionals, policemen. Aren't they trained

to shoot real targets? Aren't the riot police armed with chemical gas? To use them where? On citizens, in demonstrations and in manifestations. So, only the state exercises violence against citizens. I didn't use any violence against any citizen.

I will say exactly what terrorism is.

Terrorism is when occupations, demonstrations and strikes are being attacked. When the riot police attacked the pensioners who demonstrated outside Maximou four years ago. When Melistas killed Kaltezas. When Koumis and Kanelopoulou were murdered by the riot police in 16th of November 1980. And if I remember well, they were not shot, they were beaten to death. Terrorism is when Christos Kassimis was murdered. But I will refer more specifically to this case.

A group of revolutionaries had then tried to set fire to the German factory of AEG, in Redis. This was also an action of solidarity. I don't know if you are aware of that, but I will tell you about it. Then, in '77, some guerrillas of the RAF had died inside the white cells of Stammheim, in Stuttgart, West Germany. The white cells alone are terrorism. Prison is terrorism. So, then, some Greek revolutionaries went to burn the factory of AEG, as an action of solidarity with the RAF and also as a reaction to the murder of RAF militants in the prisons of Stuttgart. During this attempt, which was unsuccessful, somebody was killed. He was Christos Kassimis, shot by the two policemen, Plessas



and Stergiou, who were guarding the factory. And according to what I have read, they didn't kill him because their lives were threatened, they shot him in the back. He died with a bullet in his back.

Terrorism is when special police forces invade the Chemistry School and beat up anarchists and youth. Terrorism is when Temponeras is murdered in Patras. Terrorism is when Christos Tsoutsouvis was murdered in '85. But this case also has something special and I want to point it out. To Christos Tsoutsouvis fits an expression of Thucydides—if you know about him, he is the ancient historian who wrote down the story of the Peloponnesian War—that "dying in the battle is an honor, followed by the acclaim of the citizenry." He may have been killed, but he also took three of them with him. For me, he was a warrior, a militant. I believe that society needs more persons like him.

Terrorism is when citizens are murdered by the police in simple "identification controls." I will mention some examples. I will tell about Christos Mouratis, a Rom in the city of Livadia, who was shot in a police blockade in October of 1996. He was an unarmed citizen. This is a crime. But "justice" did nothing about it, what would it do? It just rewarded the crime.

In 1997, Helias Mexis was passing by the street in front of the Transport Detention Center (for prisoners) and he was shot by the police guard Tsagrakos.

Theodoros Giakas was killed on January 10th 1994 by police officer Lagogiannis of the Moschato police station. This case is also quite peculiar. He was an unarmed citizen. He was stopped in the street for identity control. He ran away and the police shot him. Afterwards they said they found a knife in his possession and other crap. As far as I know, in the beginning he was shot three times. Probably all three shots were fatal. As Giakas was lying on the ground, Lagogiannis shot him another two times and even after that he handcuffed him! Are you aware of what "justice" did about it? Sentenced him to 12 years on probation. That's why I'm saying that your "justice" must be put in quotation marks.

Terrorism is when Ali Yumfraz, a Pomak from Vrilisia suburb of Athens, was arrested for being drunk and afterwards he was found dead in his cell in the police station. The police said he suffered a heart-attack and that this was the reason for his death. I can recall another incident, in January of '91, when a Turkish political refugee, Souleiman Akiar, was beaten to death by policemen. The Minister of Public Order had then said that the man had heart problems. But the medical examination found that there were bruises all over his body.

Terrorism is this court, here. Every trial of a militant, every trial of a revolutionary is terrorism, a message of intimidation for society. I said it before in my statement yesterday, when you called me to ask if I accept the charges, and I will repeat it. Because my persecution is political, the message is clear: whoever fights against the state and capital will be penalized, criminalized and characterized as a terrorist.

The same for any solidarity with any social struggle: it will be penalized and crushed. This is the message of this trial and by this sense it is terrorism. Terrorism against me, terrorism against the anarchists, terrorism against the people of Strymonikos, who are also receiving similar messages during this period, as they have similar trials for their mobilizations. This is terrorism.

The fact that I put a bomb as an action of solidarity is not terrorism. Because no citizen was harmed by this action.

Many times, the media—sometimes even more than the police—promote a view of every action taking place (for example in molotov attacks) that "we almost had victims, almost, almost, almost...." But such a thing has never really happened. This is done to create impressions and these things are said so that there will be social consent for repression. So that I, for example, will be convicted with a long-term prison sentence. "We found someone who made the mistake of leaving his fingerprint. We caught him. And he says that he did it? Let's fuck him!" My language is a little vulgar.

I want to refer to the struggle in Strymonikos. Even if I have never been there I will give you some historical rudiments. The mines which have now been bought by the multinational company TVX Gold have existed since 1927. They used to belong to Bodosakis. In these mines, where numerous work accidents have taken place and many miners suffered pneumonokoniosis, there was a big bloody strike back in 1977. The strike had demands such as increases in wages, medical treatment, and security measures in the mines. At that time police tanks sent also sent into the area. There were arrests and convictions, with terrorism imposed in the villages.

In the late '80s the company was characterized as "problematic," like many others. The state, through METVA, planned the installation of gold metallurgy. In '92 the company, as "problematic," passed into the hands of the state and in December of '95 the latter sold the mines to TVX. But the residents of Strymonikos didn't want the construction of a gold metallurgy plant. More than seventy years of mining activity had already caused serious environmental problems.

This struggle has great importance, and that has been proven, for international reasons. The mobilizations started in the beginning of '96. The residents blockaded the national Thessaloniki-Kavala highway, they made guardhouses from which they supervised the mines and stopped any company truck that might try to pass or any machinery that would begin drilling activities. With these activities, the street blockade and the guardhouses, the people demonstrated: "We are here. You are not going to pass."

This way they forced the company to temporarily suspend its activities. On the 26th of October '96, TVX sent an ultimatum to the greek state and to the Ministry of Development, saying that "Unless the works start right now, we are going to leave." Their investment, which is the biggest private one ever made in the country,

an investment of 65 billion drachmas, would leave Greece.

When the first clashes took place, on the 17th of October, and the residents managed to violently repel the police forces from the area, Jason Stratos, the president of SEV, stated that "these disturbances damage the integrity of the country abroad." And he was right, because "It's impossible that two thousand provincials (I don't mean this characterization in a bad way, but that's how the minister or the president of SEV mean it; that's how professional politicians and the political parties talk about simple people) will destroy our investments, not letting a Canadian company or any other foreign company come here and make investments. This reaction must end".

So, you can understand that this struggle had no restricted local character. It had international implications, because it created a precedent: "If we can't have an investment in Halkidiki, wherever a foreign investor may go it will not be able to proceed with the investment. If the people revolt and don't want what the state wants, the economy is through."

One year later, there was another attempt to start work for the installation of the gold metallurgy plant. In July of '97 the residents destroyed a drill belonging to IGME and clashed with the police. In November, they gathered and demonstrated at the mines. But some months before—in September, if I remember well—the state had predicted that the people's reactions would culminate and had sent hundreds of policemen from Thessaloniki. They had also sent riot police from Athens, special repression police units and police tanks, which as I said before appeared in the streets for the first time after 1980 when they were used to suppress demonstrations. There was a whole army of occupation installed there permanently. The police knew that there would be riots again so they had prepared a military force to repress the residents. As it happened, of course, it wasn't completely successful because the police were defeated in clashes that took place on the 9th of November. And as I have said before police cars and riot police vans were destroyed, the drill of the company was set on fire and finally guerrilla activities took place, in which shots were fired to frighten the police.

As I have already said, I was very much inspired by these events to put the bomb in the Ministry of Industry and Development. On this base I want to repeat that this struggle had no simple local character. It had transcended that.

For us, for the anarchists, social struggles and solidarity are beyond national limits. For me and for my comrades, struggles that take place outside the borders of the Greek state have a great importance.

There is huge importance for me in the Zapatista guerrilla that has burst out in Chiapas in 1994. It is one more struggle against neoliberalism, a struggle that is carried out with guns, with masks, a real war. It involves political violence and I am not against that. I have never made any statement against it and I do not want to pretend to be innocent.

Of great importance for me is also the move-



ment of Brazilian farmers without land (the MST) who occupy the land of the estates in order to cultivate it collectively.

There is also great significance in the movement of the jobless people in France, who made occupations in working offices and clashed with the police during the winter of '97-'98.

Also important is something that took place in Turkey and that is similar with what happened in Strymonikos with TVX. Another multinational company, EURO-GOLD, tried to make a comparable investment in Pergamos. And it is very important what I am going to say now. It was in the village Ovacik of Pergamos, if I remember correctly. The residents of that area, Turkish farmers, successfully frustrated the EUROGOLD investment, in the same ways that the people of Strymonikos have used to so far prevent the installation of gold metallurgy. The people of Pergamos made blockades in the Ismir-Istanbul highway. They clashed with military police forces. And, coincidentally, there was again someone who placed a bomb in the offices of the investing company, in Ismir. Like I did here.

So, as you understand, all these practices are part of social struggles, they happen everywhere. And for us, not only are they not crimes, but they are an honor. We are proud of these practices.

Concerning this factory in Pergamos, the Greek media, the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Aegean had been hypocritically saying that if it was constructed it would pollute the Aegean sea. But they are not saying the same for Strymonikos Bay. So the factory in Turkey must not be constructed, but in Greece it is all right. Here the hypocrisy of the Greek state, of the media and of the politicians is obvious.

I don't believe that you really judge me as a "terrorist." I don't believe that you judge me for "having the purpose to cause danger to human lives." This is just a pretext. In fact, you are judging me for what I've said until now. For who I am. For being an anarchist, for believing what I believe, even for my past. Because all of these are aggravating elements: "So, you were in the

Polytechnic occupation, you were in the Economic School occupation, you are an objector to military service, you were here and there...." I don't have a "previous decent life," according to you, of course, because according to me I am a very decent person. In reality, you don't judge me for supposedly having the purpose of harming people.

ever accused and all of them are out of prison and proud of what they have done. Proud!

A witness for my defense said something before about the case of Alekos Panagoulis. And it is true that the attempt of Panagoulis to murder the dictator Papadopoulos was an action applauded by the Greek people. It was an attempt to kill. And so what? Who did he try to kill? A dictator!

Rationally one can oppose the argument that back then there was a status of military junta and that the means of political violence were justified to be used as a means of political pressure in the time of dictatorship, but now we have a "parliamentary democracy." Now we have "freedom" and we have "rights." Well, I don't think it is exactly like that. With all I've said I don't believe there are rights. They may exist on paper, but in reality there is nothing.

I will mention certain occasions of the political reform period, the time of the presumed democracy, where people have been killed within social struggles. It was once again proven that the people still don't define their fate just because the constitution of the state changed in 1974. Specific examples:

The first disturbances took place, as far as I remember, in July of 1975. Also in May of 1976 for one more time the police tanks appeared in the streets of Athens. Laskaris, the minister of Employment of Karamanlis' government had then made a new law, Act 330, an anti-worker and anti-strike act. On the 25th of May '76 there was an all-workers' demonstration.

There were clashes with the police, an assault at the offices of "Bradini" newspaper..., molotov cocktails and fire... Then, a police tank which was chasing after demonstrators killed Anastasia Tsvika, a 67 year old saleswoman. Nobody was ever accused of this murder.

In other cases, there were new drafts of laws voted in the parliament without asking anybody's opinion. For example in 1990 there was a revision of the agreement considering the continuation of the American military base operations in Greece. The people of Chania did not accept that... In June of 1990 they had a demonstration which was attacked by the riot police. As a reaction, the people clashed with



In fact, the state has proven that it does not care for the citizens. On the contrary, when its domination must be consolidated, the state takes away human lives, as I have said in the examples I gave before. The only thing the state wants is to conserve a monopoly, the monopoly that "Only I, the state, can take away human lives."

Only the uniformed police, the secret police, the riot police or the special police can take away human lives. Everyone else who does it is a criminal. But when the state does it, it proves to be unassailable.

Whenever citizens were killed, "justice" has accepted the police allegations. Not because it believed them but for reasons of interest. It always accepts the allegation that "the bullet lost its way," that supposedly "the policeman's gun had accidentally fired," or that he was supposed to be "in legal defense." In reality though, all these examples that I mentioned before, and I have more to mention, are cold-blooded murders. Very few policemen were



the police and burnt down the Prefecture of Chania.

In 1991 the farmers of Heraklion province set fire to the building of the Heraklion Prefecture. As you can see, political violence is exercised by everyone. By all of society and by every social segment or class that is threatened.

What the state wants is to deal with everyone alone. You must have heard an expression that Prime Minister Simitis is using a lot, speaking of "social automatism" whenever social reactions burst out. He uses this expression in order to present these social reactions—the blockades in the streets, the squatting in public buildings and all the actions of this kind—as being in contrast with the interests of the rest of society. Something that is a total lie. It is just the tactics of "divide and rule," which means "Spread discord to break solidarity." Because solidarity is very important as anyone who is alone becomes an easy target.

When a workers' strike takes place and there is no solidarity it is easier to attack. They talk about a "minority." This is the argument of the state, that it is "a union minority having retrogressive interests which turn against modernization, against development, against all reforms," and all that nonsense. Well, there hasn't been one social segment or social group that hasn't come in conflict with the state—especially during the '90s, and that hasn't been faced with the argument that "You are just a minority," that "Your struggle is in contrast with the rest of society's interests."

That is exactly what happened in all cases. It happened with the workers in the "problematic" companies who were squatting their factories in '90-'91, with the pupils who occupied their schools in '90-'91 and recently in '98-'99. The same thing happened with the workers in Public Transport in '92, with the farmers who blockaded the national highways in '95 and in '96, with the teachers' mobilizations against the repeal of the calendar and the new exam. The same thing happened of course with the people of Strymonikos.

What is really being attacked is solidarity. And that's what is also attacked—without any disguise—through my trial. The state wants to attack everyone alone. Because when it finds them together things are much more difficult.

Police brutality is, of course, not sufficient for repression. Coming back to what I was saying before, I have concluded with the fact that the difference between dictatorship and parliamentary democracy—or should I better say capitalistic oligarchy—is that the first one is mainly imposed by raw violence and the latter, the presumed democracy, is mostly imposed by the intellectual control of the citizens, through the weapon of the mass media, through deception. Because I don't believe that people voting for their bosses every four years means they have their freedom. They vote for them but when

they're not doing what they were elected to do, people can't get rid of them.

In ancient Athens this didn't happen. In ancient Athens everyone could speak in the public assembly. Anyone could express an opinion, no matter how modest his position was. And those having a public position could be removed by the people at any time.

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But democracy has also proven that when deception and intellectual control of the citizens are not enough, it has no problem resorting to police violence, killing, torture and terror.

Finally, I am not on trial because I placed a bomb, nor because I possessed three guns and ten kilograms of dynamite. After all, the army and the police have a lot more guns than me and they use them. The one can't be compared with the other.

I have nothing else to say. The only thing I'll say more is that no matter what the penalty to which I will be sentenced—because it is certain that I will be convicted—I am not going to repent anything. I will remain who I am. I can also say that prison is always a school for a revolutionaries. His ideas and the endurance of his soul are experienced. And if he passes this test he becomes stronger and believes more in the things for which he was put in prison. I have nothing more to say.

**The judge:** *Don't turn the cameras to the bench!*

**Public prosecutor:** *In the beginning of your plea you said that you had the guns for war. Don't you see a contradiction when you say that there was no danger for human lives?*

I made clear that none of my activities is turned against citizens. I already made that clear. Where is the contradiction?

**Public Prosecutor:** *You said the guns are for war.*

Yes but not for the people. For my class enemies. Look, I never said that I am a humanist generally. Nor a philanthropist, because the meanings of these words are degraded. In everything that I've written—if you have read—and in everything that I've said I made clear who are my friends and who are my enemies. Not on a personal but on a social level. Who are my social and class friends and who are my social and class enemies. In the letter with which I took responsibility for the action as well as in my defense I said that society is another thing from the state.

I will go on to be more specific for the jury. On the one hand I place the state, state officials, the police, the army, the security forces, capitalists, and on the other hand I place the rest of the people: workers, farmers, pupils, the whole of society, the majority of the people, the oppressed people.

**Public prosecutor:** *You talked about "justice" putting the word in quotation marks. What ground for complaint do you have against justice?*

I have been in prison for the last 18 months. I have personally stayed in prison for 18 months and another 7 months in military prison. Simple and close examples. You are speaking of me, personally, aren't you?

These laws are made in order to suit your interests. From these laws you are earning your bread. Your job is to send citizens to prison and to oppose the argument that policemen have committed murders but don't go to prison for it. I have already criticized the job of this "justice" you are talking about. That finally there are two weights and two measures. The matter is not what the law says or what the penal code says, but what really happens. Just like in the case of terrorism.

For example, the US consider PKK to be a terrorist organization, but not UCK. In the beginning UCK was considered, by the US, a terrorist organization but afterwards it wasn't because its existence was convenient for their plans. Isn't that right? The US did not consider Contras to be terrorists, when they were going to invade Nicaragua, but they considered all the left revolutionary movements and guerrillas terrorists.

**Public prosecutor:** *I will refer to the danger you said something about. Didn't you know that the bomb could cause danger?*

If I knew? I knew that it would not cause any



danger. The procedure is stereotyped and it goes exactly like that: you make a telephone call to a newspaper for warning, then somebody from the newspaper informs the police, the police arrive at the place and blockade the area surrounding the target. In my case, they did blockade the area and the police specialists in neutralizing explosive devices who were then present have already testified that the blockade was safe for a range of 200 meters. So there was no danger for human lives. For material damages now, I told you my opinion about them....

I want to complete what I was saying before to the public prosecutor, about terrorism on an international level. In reality, for this moment, the US are the global gendarmery and terrorists, as the only great world power left. Which means it is the worst thing on earth. And according to our perception—as anarchists—the state, all the states and all the governments are antisocial, terrorist mechanisms, since they have organized armies, police, and hired torturers.

I also want to complete what I was saying about having two weights and two measures. For example, the US provides weapons, financing and instigating every dictatorial regime all over the world. And in Greece as well. In Latin America, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru.... This is terrorism. Terrorism is to arm dictators, to arm death squads in Argentina or in Bolivia in order to kill people of the left, citizens, revolutionaries. Those who equip the death squads to torture, those are the terrorists.

Terrorism is when they bombard Yugoslavia for ten days, killing civilians....

Excuse me, Mr. prosecutor, but the US is the one which pronounces who is terrorist and who isn't. Its State Department issues official directions, advising Greece about who is a terrorist. In this period of time, it places pressure on the Greek state to make an anti-terrorist law, a model of law which will criminalize those who fight, making laws more draconian than those already existing. This is terrorism.

The revolutionaries and militants are not terrorists. The terrorists are the states themselves. But with this accusation, with this stigmatizing (as terrorism) all the states and governments try to criminalize the social revolutionaries and militants inside their countries—the internal social enemy. In fact, the state, "justice" and the police face me also as this kind of enemy. As an internal social enemy. On the basis of the division I described before. That's the way the state sees it. This is what is ventured in this trial.

**Public prosecutor:** *What do you have to oppose to what exists?*

Social revolution. By any means necessary.

It is generally proven, because I am well versed in Greek as well as in international social

and political history, that never did any changes happen, never did humanity meet any progress—progress as I conceive it—through begging, praying or with mere words.

In the text I sent to take responsibility for the action in which I said that I placed the bomb and which was published in *Eleftherotypia* newspaper, I said that the social elite, the man-

**Revolutionaries and militants are not terrorists. The terrorists are the states themselves. But with this accusation, with this stigmatizing (as terrorism) all the states and governments try to criminalize the social revolutionaries and militants inside their countries—the internal social enemy. In fact, the state, "justice" and the police face me also as this kind of enemy. As an internal social enemy. On the basis of the division I described before. That's the way the state sees it. This is what is ventured in this trial.**

darins of capital, the bureaucrats, all these useless and parasitic people—who should disappear from the proscenium of history—will never quit their privileges through a civilized discussion, through persuasion. I don't want to have a discussion because you can't have a discussion with this kind of people...

I would like to add something. Precisely because I have studied a lot, (I know that) during the events of July of '65, a conservative congressman of the National Radical Union came out and said about those who went into the streets and caused disturbances when Petroulas was killed, that "Democracy is not the red tramps but we, the participants in parliament," which means the congressmen who are well paid.

I will reverse that. Popular sovereignty, sir judges, is when molotovs and stones are thrown at the police, when state cars, banks, shopping centers and luxury stores are burnt down. This is how the people react. History itself has proven that this is the way people react.

This is popular sovereignty. When Maziotis goes and places a bomb in the Ministry of Industry and Development in solidarity with the struggle of the people in Strymonikos. This is the real popular sovereignty and not what the Constitution says.

I forgot to commemorate militants who have been murdered. Christoforos Marinos was murdered in the port of Piraeus, inside the ship

"Pegasus" in July of '96. Michalis Prekas was murdered by the Special Police Units in October of 1987 in Kalogreza. Tsironis was murdered in Nea Smyrni in 1978.

I also want to add something concerning to what Mr. Prosecutor said yesterday, during his speech, on the matter of humanism.

I will mention an event that happened abroad, to prove who are humanists and who aren't after all, who are the real criminals.

The Tupac Amaru guerrillas occupied the Japanese embassy of Peru in December of 1996. They took more than a hundred hostages and these hostages were not just citizens. There were ambassadors, diplomats from many states, Japanese businessmen and officials of the Peruvian regime—which is quite far from being democratic. They were demanding the freedom of their militants, the release of their organization's leader and of other comrades of theirs who were imprisoned in dungeons.

Not only didn't they hurt any one of the hostages but they even released almost all of them—that is to say who are really the humanists. On the contrary, after endless and exhausting negotiations, the Peruvian special forces invaded the embassy and executed every one of them in cold blood. I tell all that in order that we know who are the criminals and who are the "humanists"—in quotation marks, because I don't like this term and that's

why I don't use it a lot.

I want also to mention some things that happened here in Greece. I want to speak for Charis Temperekidis, who may not have been a political militant, but for me he was a rebelling penal prisoner. He had been kept in prison for years. He also died with his gun in hand during a chase after the robbery of the Agricultural Bank in Klitoria, Achaia. Despite the fact that he was still alive when caught by the police, he didn't inform against his accomplices. In the past he had taken part in prisoners' revolts, like the one of 1987 in Kerkyra in order to close this place of punishment.

And there is one more case—if we want to discuss crimes once more, the case of Sorin Matei. When Matei kept a policeman as hostage, the police didn't make any move to arrest him. When Matei took civilians as hostages, the police couldn't care less about their lives. In order to strengthen their prestige the police invaded the apartment where Matei had taken shelter, resulting in the death of a young woman. The criminals were more the policemen of the special units than Sorin Matei. As criminal as the manager of Nikaia general hospital, Alexiou, who ordered the transportation of Matei to the prison hospital Agios Pavlos, where he died either from the beating he suffered by policemen or by the drugs they were given to him. That explains who is criminal.

*This translation is from the Anarchist Circle at <anar@coldmail.com>.*



# Reclaim the Streets? What a riot!

An Account of June 18th events in Eugene, Oregon according to reports filed by various members of the Eugene Police Department and compiled by Rob Thaxton

I had advance knowledge that a group of anarchists were planning a 'take back the streets' event.... *[The crafty bastard must have read one of the super-secret flyers posted all over the city in the weeks before the event.]*

"The group of Anarchists [*capital "A", that's respect!*] placed yellow caution tape around their street party...smashed T.V.(s), computers, and even burnt the American flag...wore masks, and costumes to disguise their identity [*good idea, folks*]...held the involved intersection for approximately one hour, and refused to allow vehicle traffic to flow normally...marched all over downtown, and refused to remove themselves from the various public streets."

"The EPD [*Eugene Police Department*] formed a field force with our police officers, and attempted to remove the group of Anarchists from the streets. The police officers...were met with aggression...."

"There were so many Anarchists throwing things, that I didn't see who struck me with the rocks...."

"the Anarchists were moving through the downtown streets and frequently changing direction. As a result, traffic could not be effectively re-routed...(They) occupied 7th ave. as rush hour on this Friday started. As a result, traffic was effectively brought to a standstill on all downtown arteries." *[Who's fucking streets? Ours!]*

"We faced over 100 Anarchists...Many were shouting 'Fuck You!'...Numerous police announcements of unlawful assembly were made over amplified public address radio announcements...These announcements were met with shouts regarding civil rights, Constitutional rights, freedom of speech and assembly, and (of course) 'Fuck you!'"

"The protesters attempted to contact persons in the stopped vehicles. The protesters were trying to *talk* to the drivers and *hand* them *written material(s)* [*emphasis added*]. I instructed several persons not to...contact the public in their cars...." *[Good work, lad.]*

"As the 'riot' progressed through the streets of the city, the crowd appeared to get noisier and more unruly. *[Yee-Ha!]* They took bolder steps in confronting...the police...forcing people in cars to remain where they stopped...."

"I observed protesters amassed partially in the park and some on the street...also...a line of police officers in riot gear (the field force)...The officers were outnumbered and had a difficult time containing the rioters...."

"There was continuous rebellion against the police...."

"We repeatedly...made amplified public address announcements regarding unlawful assembly and potential arrest...they only became more agitated and aggressive toward us...The repeated warnings of gas and pepper spray deployment did little to encourage their movement away from us...."

"The gas was deployed in unfavorable wind conditions and blown back at us. The protesters used the clouds of gas as concealment and approached our position. We

were pelted with rocks and other items. We retreated to our cars and left the area...they occupied the entire parking lot of the Chevron gas station, completely disrupting the operation of that business...."

"I asked (an arrestee) what video of the riot would show her doing. She...said it would show her...pulling up her skirt and flashing police her buttocks and groin...." *[In those exact words, officer?]*



Eugene police stand in a cloud of their own gas.



## Biblioteca Social Reconstruir in danger of Closing Its Doors

**T**he Biblioteca Social Reconstruir (The Library of Social Reconstruction), started in 1978, is an anarchist space located in downtown Mexico City.

The library currently contains 3,000 books, of which approximately 850 are anarchist. Some are extremely old, such as *La Pornocracia* by Proudhon, edited in Spain in 1892. We also have 4,700 magazines, some very old and important such as the historic *Revista Blanca*. The library also holds dozens of magazines edited during the Spanish Revolution of 1936, as well as important Mexican anarchist publications. Hundreds of newspapers are still in the process of being classified, including issue #13 of *Regeneracion*, edited by the Flores Magon brothers (anarchists and heroes of the Mexican Revolution), published November 7, 1900.

The Biblioteca Social Reconstruir is visited by investigators researching books, students researching thesis topics, professors, etc., but it is mainly frequented by liberationist youth (many of them punks and other working class kids) who look to the library for inspiration and knowledge in the quest for freedom and justice for all.

The BSR is also a meeting point for liberationist men and women from Mexico and many other parts of the world.

The BSR is the fruit of the labor of old friends who are no longer with us today. We were supported by the bibliographic funds of Marcos Alcon, Ignacio Portilla, Benjamin Cano Ruiz, Eliseo Rojas and Ricardo Mestre Ventura.

### PLEASE SHOW SOLIDARITY

The Biblioteca Social Reconstruir is facing a very difficult economic situation, the high costs of rent, telephone, electricity, Internet service, correspondence (we receive about 50 letters a month), etc. We have been hit with an economic situation so extreme that if we do not receive financial help from friends who are able to collaborate, it is very likely that this liberationist center will close its doors forever.

If the Biblioteca Social Reconstruir is unable to finance its costs, it will mean closing what has been perhaps the most important center in Mexico for the dissemination of anarchist ideas over the last 22 years, during which the center has slowly built on its modest roots.

The BSR is part of Mexico's anarchist community and its loss would mean a defeat and a setback for the organized movement—a defeat and a loss that we do not know if we could recover from.

It is for these reasons that we appeal to your solidarity, so that the library can continue to be one of the points of contact for anarchy in Mexico. So that this project continues to carry out its principal task: the sowing of ideas.

If you have any questions, please write us and we will respond immediately.

Thank you for any and all support.

Biblioteca Social Reconstruir  
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web: [www.libertad.org.mx](http://www.libertad.org.mx)

## MUTUAL AID LEGAL FUND

A small group of Seattle activists are forming a not-for-profit group to raise funds towards the legal support of anarchists and similar radical activists who are facing trials for politically motivated acts. Our first project will be to raise defense monies for activists being charged with felonies from the anti-WTO demonstrations here in Seattle. We hope to be established as a legal defense fund for future trials as well as create a database of sympathetic attorneys.

### MISSION STATEMENT:

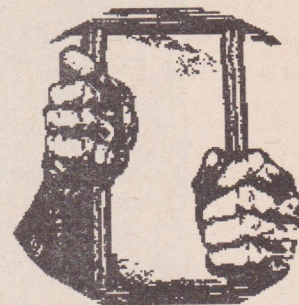
"Mutual Aid Legal Fund is organized to raise money for legal defense costs for anarchists and similar radicals who are facing trial on politically motivated acts."

Please spread the word! Send checks, international money orders or well-concealed cash (checks/money orders made out to "Mutual Aid Legal Fund") to:

Mutual Aid Legal Fund  
P.O. Box 95616  
Seattle, WA 98145-2616

e-mail: [malfund@yahoo.com](mailto:malfund@yahoo.com)

If you are being charged with a felony for protesting the WTO Ministerial Conference in Seattle, please contact us.



## Current Greek anarchist political prisoners

At this moment there are in total 7 political prisoners in Greece. As of Feb. 22, a hunger strike by two anarchist prisoners is continuing. One of the two activists, Panagiotis Katsilas, has been transferred to General State Hospital with serious health problems. The other is still in prison. Katsilas and Karpouzios are on their 35th day of their hunger strike.

Nikos Maziotis has been sentenced to 15 years in prison for his attempted bombing of the Ministry of Industry, which was done as an act of solidarity with the struggle of Chalkidiki locals against the multinational corporation TVX Gold. [See page 28 of this issue for the full text of the inspiring court statement made by Maziotis.]

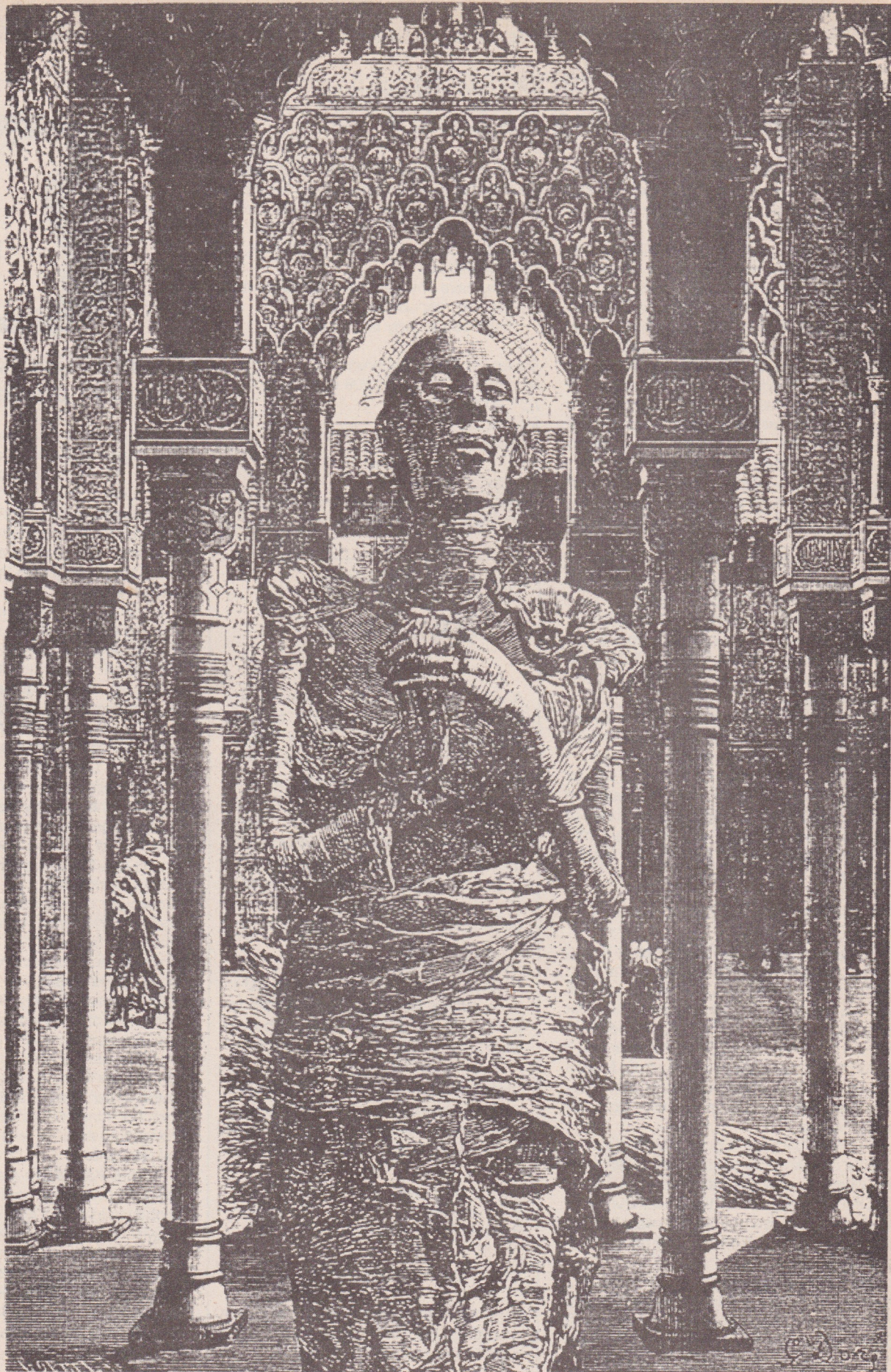
Abraam Lesperoglou was arrested on the 24th of December in the airport, while trying to enter the country with a false ID, after being illegal for 17 years from 1982. He is accused of being a member of a guerilla group Anti-State Struggle, participating in 2 armed robberies, the execution of state prosecutor Theofanopoulos, and the well known "Gyzi" armed confrontation with cops, which ended with the murder of guerilla Christos Tsoutsoubis and the death of three cops. Tsoutsoubis, a former member of Popular Revolutionary Struggle (E.L.A.), was a member of the Anti-State Struggle. Abraam Lesperoglou denies the charges and has declared himself a political prisoner, a hostage of the state in the class war as a known anti-authoritarian, leftist activist. He has stated that his long disappearance was to help Palestinian activists with whom he had political relations.

Kostas Kalaremas was sentenced to 12 years in prison for participating in 2 armed robberies in banks and is a known anarchist activist and editor of many anarchist journals. By summer he will be released.

Last but not least, there are 2 demonstrators from the 19 November 1999 protests against the arrival of U.S. President Clinton in Greece incarcerated in Juvenile Prison until their trial.



Collage: James Koehnline





# The Age of Nihilism

by John Zerzan

**T**echnological mediation and separation continue on their emptying ascendancy, embodying so well capital's impoverishing penetration of every level of life on this planet. But there are signs that an era of unchecked cynicism, engendered by this rampant advance of techno-capital, is finally being challenged. The challengers, moreover, are quickly deepening their understanding of how fundamental the challenge must be if it is to succeed.

With this in mind, the following comments on nihilism may well be less apropos than they would have been even a year or two ago. For the focus of this essay is passive nihilism, rather than the probing, critical variety, which is the active nihilism now emerging as a force to be reckoned with. Nonetheless, the question of how and why an enfeebling ethos of meaninglessness and indifference came to predominate may still be of some interest.

In *Fathers and Sons*, Turgenev described the nihilist as one "who looks at everything critically...who does not take any principle for granted, however much that principle may be revered." But during the same period, Dostoyevsky portrayed modern, passive nihilism in *Notes from Underground*. Its protagonist was merely disgruntled, and lacked the passion and conviction necessary to hold convention to the flame of critique.

During the following century, it appears, the sense that nothing matters became widespread. One current among others, quite obviously, but a

growing one. Nothing counts more than anything else, so nothing really counts. Nietzsche had said that nihilism "stands at the door" of modern civilization, and that door opened wider as the important sources of meaning and value steadily revealed themselves as inconsequential and irrelevant, unequal to the rigors of modern life.

Heidegger found in nihilism "the fundamental movement of the history of the West," and what was the bane of the nineteenth century became, by the 1990s, a banality. Nihilism, in the current postmodern clime, is simply the matter-of-fact state of mind of our period—so widespread today is the attitude that little or nothing is compelling; authentic, or makes a difference. Distinctions of value or meaning and the value or meaning of distinctions are less and less persuasive. There is a cultural exhaustion in the movement through decadence into nihilism. According to John Gray, nihilism constitutes modernity's "only truly universal inheritance to humankind."

That inheritance has accelerated, it seems, since the failure of the movement of the 1960s, when belief in continuous Progress had reached its peak. As utopian oases dried up, a desert of inertia and pointlessness spread. By the '80s, with nothing to look for and nowhere to go, youth were tagged as slackers, Generation X, etc. In the summer of 1990, the *New York Times* called kids the generation "that couldn't care less."

With young people looking ahead to a lifetime of strain and empty consumerism, it should surprise no-one that

teens' suicide rate has tripled in the past thirty years. Or that network television now offers what amount to "snuff" programs for the jaded and bored, as the population in general experiences its life-world as more and more of a vacuum in every way. A melancholy escapism flowers in this Dead Zone, this Nowhere.

Development is a given; this cancer of a system would soon collapse without its steady onslaught. It continues its onrush into the hypermodern vista of high-tech unreality. Nietzsche saw nihilism as a consequence of the erosion of the Christian world view. But this is a superficial judgment, in many ways confusing effect with cause.

A deeper causative factor is the march of technology, in the direction of the complete industrialization of society. From the present apex of cultural homogenization and standardized life, this is easier to see than it was for Nietzsche more than a century ago. The hollowing out of the substance and texture of daily existence is being completed, a process intimately related to the near impossibility of experiencing the world without technological mediation. The overall destruction of experience speaks to the deprivation at the heart of both technology and nihilism.

With this absence of unmediated personal experience at the heart of technological progress, skyrocketing levels of stress and depression cannot be surprising. Technology mediates between individuals and nature, ultimately abolishing both. With the triumph of technology, autonomy regresses and negates itself. The promises have all



been lies. One is the promise of connection, so mercilessly (though inadvertently) mocked in a recent TV commercial: "I've got gigabytes. I've got megabytes. I'm voice-mailed. I'm e-mailed. I surf the Net. I'm on the Web. I am Cyber-Man. So how come I feel so out of touch?"

A set-up whose essence is efficiency is already fundamentally nihilist. Technical rules are rapidly supplanting ethical norms by making them irrelevant. What is more efficient or less efficient holds sway, not some moral consideration, even as the systemic goals of techno-capital are shaped by the evolution of its technology. Production, based on mastery and control, becomes more visibly a process of humanity devouring itself.

When powerlessness prevails, a generalized sense of paranoia is not an illogical symptom. Similarly, a current and telling form of cynicism is technological fatalism ("There's nothing we can do about it"), further exposing the tendency of cynicism to shade into conformity. As Horkheimer and Adorno observed, "technological rationale is the rationale of domination itself."

Understanding and responsibility succumb to an ever-increasing fragmentation, a division of labor that is always unequal and alienating. The only wholeness resides in the fundamental system that turns all else into parts. As the moral self recedes, it becomes harder to grasp the relationship of these parts to one another and to see what they are part of. Domination and nihilism's crisis of meaning are inseparably entwined.

For Heidegger, technology constitutes the final phase of nihilism. Under its sign all talk of freedom, happiness, emancipation becomes a mockery. In fact, technology itself becomes the ideological basis of society, having destroyed the possibility of other, overt forms of justification. Engagement or belief are hardly necessary for technology's effective rule. In this way the nagging problem of declining participation in the system can be mitigated, or deferred.

Technology is the embodiment of the totalizing system of capital, and media

is an indispensable, ever more defining bridge between technology and the commodity system. If the high-tech information explosion cancels all meaning in a meaningless noise, the mass-entertainment industrial complex pumps out increasingly desperate diversions to a society of relentless consumerism.

"Infotainment" and McJournalism are

**To protect the desolate society an alternative to that society is safely set up, by means of image technologies. As the social dimensions of human life disappear along with meaning and value, a consumer society in cyberspace becomes the next stage of human existence. We are moving steadily toward the goal of complete illusion—virtual life in a virtual reality.**

the latest pop culture products of nihilism. Why bother with truth if nothing can be done about reality anyway? And yet media, like technology, is always promising solutions to problems it has created, or worsened. One example among many is the significant rise in teen smoking in the 1990s despite an enormous media campaign aimed at reducing teen smoking. Strangely enough, beefing up the media does not combat alienated behaviors.

In the United States, and soon to spread elsewhere as not less than a function of development, we witness the recent transition to an amusement society of commodified spectacles and simulations. The eclipse of non-mediated reality feeds still greater urges to escape an emptied everyday life. Massified culture works in favor of distraction, conformity, and culturally enforced stupidity. The consequent lack of authenticity produces a mass turn-off, not unrelated to the decline of literacy.

The collapse of the distinction between reality and simulation in the world of representation can be seen as the ultimate failure of the symbolic. Art, music, and other forms of symbolic

culture are losing their power to pacify and console us. Simulation technologies are just the most recent steps away from lived life, toward represented life.

Their failure to satisfy means that the system must turn, increasingly, to containment and control.

To protect the desolate society an alternative to that society is safely set up, by means of image technologies. As the social dimensions of human life disappear along with meaning and value, a consumer society in cyberspace becomes the next stage of human existence. We are moving steadily toward the goal of complete illusion—virtual life in a virtual reality.

Under the Juggernaut, the subject is not supposed to have any sense of social causality, structure, coherence, or motive. Virtual Reality's merely surface experience is exactly mirrored by postmodernism's fascination with surfaces. As the culture that can just barely still be called one, postmodernism celebrates its own depthlessness,

and is thus nihilism's essential accomplice. It comes to pervade society when too many have given up hope that they can plumb the depth and roots of the whole. Postmodern perspectives are grounded in the incapacity to specify why change might be desirable or how it might come about.

Postmodernism is fundamentally the collapse and refusal of the chance to understand the totality. This indeed is the postmodern boast, mirroring the fragmentation of life instead of challenging it. Its "politics" is that of pragmatism, the tired liberalism that accommodates to the debased norm.

Deconstruction, for example, treats every moral statement as an endlessly manipulable fragment that possesses neither meaning nor intrinsic worth. Rem Koolhaas formulates the overall PM subjugation as follows: "According to Derrida we cannot be Whole, according to Baudrillard we cannot be real, according to Virilio we cannot be There."

Postmodernism, it might be argued, expresses fewer illusions, but the basic ones remain unchallenged. Its exhausted, ironic cynicism is prostrate before the nihilist ascendancy. What could be





Collage by Jonathan Baker

more passive than critique-less postmodernism double talk—an ideology of acquiescence.

Falsely laying claim to the protection of the particular as against the universal, postmodernism presents no defense whatsoever against the most universalizing force of all, technology. In the guise of particularity it incarnates nothing less than the realization of technology's universalizing Midas touch.

Postmodernism emphasizes plurality, accessibility, absence of boundaries, endless possibility. Just as consumerist society does. And just as speciously. Where culturally a glut of meaningless information and incoherent fragments hold sway, the glut of ersatz commodities provides a perfect economic parallel. The liberty that remains to us is essentially the freedom to choose among brands A, B, and C, and the

KFC in Tienanmen Square expresses domination as surely as the suppression of human rights protesters there in 1989.

"Systematic consumer segmentation and micro-marketing" is the dominant model of individualism today in the nihilist ethos of listless yet restless buyers. In fact, in an overwhelmingly commodified existence, consumption becomes the number one form of entertainment. Little wonder that academic journals now seriously discuss not only the McDonaldisation of society but also its Disneyization, while life is largely defined in terms of consumer styles. The cognitive and moral focus of life becomes that of consumer behavior—including, it should be noted, voting and recycling.

Nihilism has effectively leached out the substance and texture from the life-

world in the painful progression by which capital and technology have reduced and debased everything in their way. There is no exit from the closed system except by the elimination of that system.

Civilization begins by myth and ends in radical doubt, to paraphrase E.M. Cioran. This may remind us that cultural radicalism, which has become such a convention, feeds the dominant system rather than undermining it. Culture, born of alienation, needs alienation to go on. We must challenge the idea of symbolic culture as well as the reality of high-tech barbarism.

Nihilism is not a one-way street with no return, rather a route that has revealed the ensemble of domination for what it is. There are now very visible signs of the possibility of breaking its hold, redeeming its long, dark night.







# SUBVERSION IN SEATTLE

**T**he Seattle WTO protests made genuine history—the kind that changes circumstances palpably and sets the stage for further social developments in kind. Everyone agrees that something powerful happened. Many loathe what took place. Most are probably ambivalent about it. While a notable few are celebrating it!

An important question for us now is what was it in Seattle that was most worthy of *anarchist* loathing, ambivalence or celebration? No historic event will ever obtain the unreachable ideal of uncontroversial popular consensus. Nor should any. But within the revolutionary anarchist milieu we should be able to come to some clear conclusions about the accomplishments of November 30th and the following days.

## THINK FOR YOURSELF—RECLAIM YOUR MIND!

The day of action in Seattle on November 30 has brought together 1000's of people from all over the world—people with their own experience and strategies of struggle and resistance. Each of us has suffered differing levels and forms of oppression; each of us has fought back in slightly different ways. We have a tremendous amount to learn from one another.

Why then rely on a small group of paid, professionalised activists to tell us how to fight or rather how not to fight! Pitting the “non-violent” against the “violent” is a concept that divides and rules from the inside—it is a symptom of the disease. Pacifism is not “right”; neither is “violence” wrong. It is a question of what is appropriate and the measure of that is not whether we get beaten up worse or locked up longer. It is hard to create a revolution sitting down, and chanting “love-a-cop” is probably not an effective tactic for shutting down the WTO.

Why confine ourselves to the limited tactics of passive resistance and abstention from property damage? We should use tactics which will further our struggle and help us realise our goals—without fetishising either pacifism or violence.

We must not go into action, or in-action, on November 30 with a preconceived set of ideas about how we must behave. Rather we should be flexible, spontaneous and free to seize opportunities as they arise.

I am a direct activist and I do not prefix the term direct action with the description non-violent. Does this mean that I embrace violence? Give me a break. The State has nuclear weapons, armies, guns, tanks, police, courts, cells, prisons, bosses, landlords, banks, corporations and the mass media on its side. But no-one puts “violent” in front of the word “government” every time they use it, yet it is expected of me—as someone who struggles for change—to present myself in the first instance as a non-threat. In disgust at this hypocrisy, I refuse.

Remember:

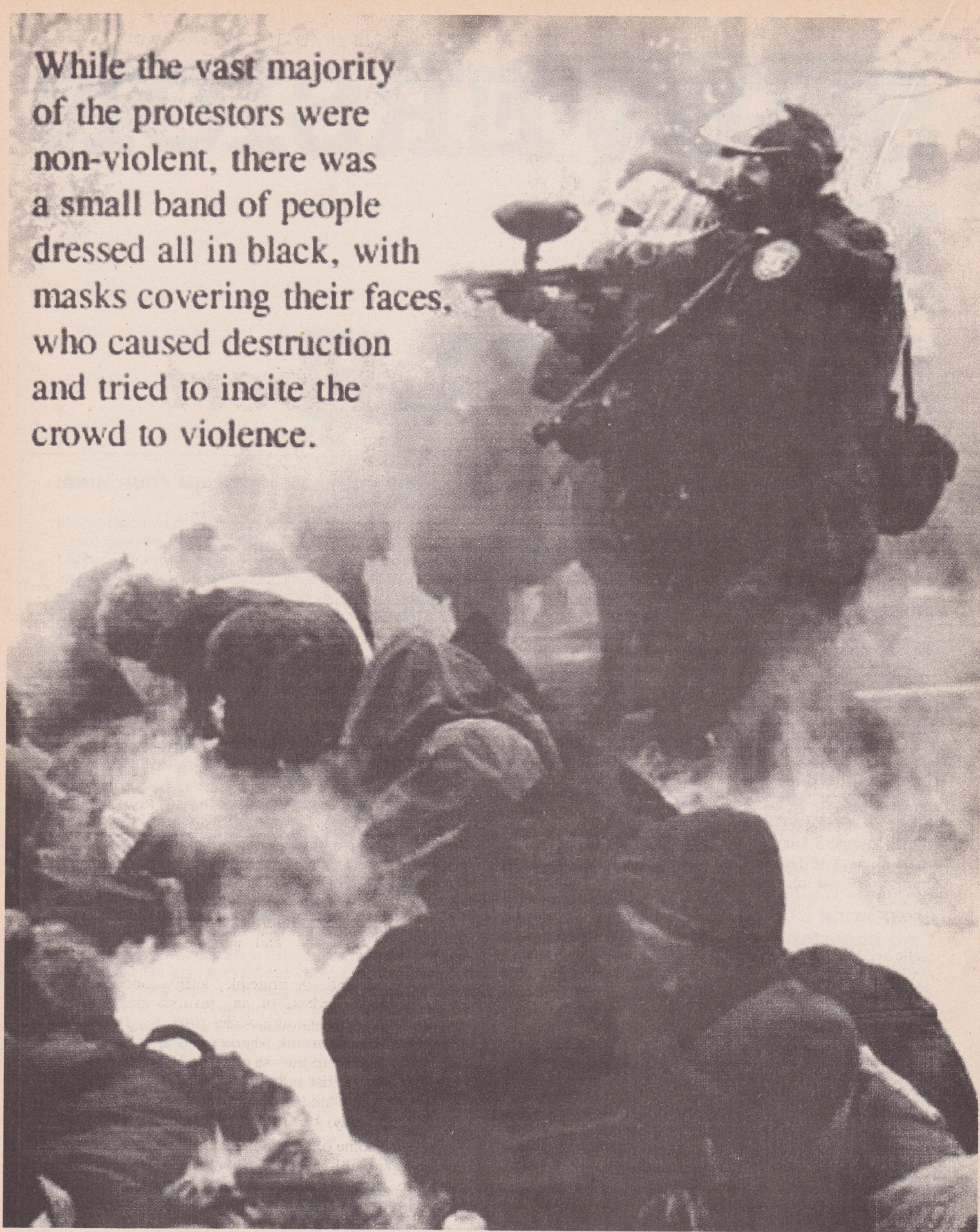
The ends justify the means.

Don't get caught!

Text of a leaflet circulated in Seattle on the days before N30.



While the vast majority of the protestors were non-violent, there was a small band of people dressed all in black, with masks covering their faces, who caused destruction and tried to incite the crowd to violence.





# Dueling Diatribes

## —ACME and Albert

### Lawrence Jarach

A few words about words. “Trashing” and “property destruction” are the terms being thrown around quite casually to describe some of the events of N30. Albert’s use of the term “trashing” is clearly meant to evoke feelings of horror and/or repulsion; he is using it provocatively and deliberately to distance himself from its consequences, regardless of his statement that he’s not necessarily against it. “Property destruction,” the preferred term of those who do not condemn the actions of the black bloc, is also problematic. It seems to me that the actions in question damaged a certain amount of property, and that this damage was inconvenient to the owners/managers of it. “Destruction” is a self-congratulatory exaggeration, meant to inflate the impact of the actual amount of damage. Whining and gloating are equally unattractive and unconvincing.

#### ACME

The ACME Collective document was written in the hopes of dispelling some misunderstandings and misconceptions surrounding the spray-painting, window-breaking, and other acts of corporate property damage which took place in Seattle during the late morning/early afternoon of November 30, 1999. Combining humor with occasionally insightful analysis, this communiqué, despite some problematic statements, is one of the better ones to come out of the antiauthoritarian activist milieu in a long time.

The first and biggest problem is endemic to political communiqués in general. The message must be educational, so the intentions behind the actions must be articulated, the legitimacy of the targets must be proved, and the types of action(s) must be justified in relation to the intentions and

targets. The goal is to generate solidarity from allies and sympathy from potential supporters. The explanations that ACME proffers, however, are mostly about other people and other parts of the world (the U’wa of Colombia, sweatshop workers, tropical rainforests, third world cash crop farmers), with a few nods to domestic issues (raping [sic] of Northwest forests, overpriced [!] clothing, media monopolization) that seem to carry much less weight in terms of the justification of property damage.

If the point is to make it as costly as possible for Nike (and other corporations) to carry on business as usual, then why not just say, “We took the opportunity to express our anger at the economic policies of Nike—and at our frustration with the lack of tangible results from polite protests—at the point where we were able: the windows of NikeTown in Seattle.” For those unimpressed by the mystical sanctity of property, and for those unimpressed by the controlled protests organized by liberals and moralistic leftists, this is the only justification necessary, and it makes the actions more personal.

Historically, and on principle, leftists oppose anarchist direct action regardless of any justification. This is true whether the direct action includes property damage or not, whether it is legal or not, whether it is spontaneous or not. If they don’t stoop to the use of agent-baiting, authoritarians and sectarians (leftist and anarchist alike) will condemn such actions for being “undemocratic,” or “adventurist,” or some other (supposedly) bad thing.

There are some other problems with the ACME document from an antiauthoritarian perspective. According to the collective, part of the response to the actions of the black bloc is hypocritical (certainly correct, considering that some



"non-violent" protesters beat up members of the black bloc), and the underlying cause of this is "the racism of privileged activists." How this is so, however, is not explained.

Later, those who dismiss the window-breakers as "a bunch of angry adolescent boys" are accused of being ageist and sexist. Replying to a dismissal with one's own dismissal is not the way to foster dialogue or solidarity, and each dismissal skirts the issues: the specter of vigilante violence, the fact that being "constantly in motion" in street actions does necessitate a certain youthfulness. There is also the real matter of what it means—and what it takes—to be a militant activist intent on attacking property: is there more to it than being a street tough? Are those who sympathize and don't take part cowards? Not committed enough? The willingness on the part of some activists to engage in illegal acts (escalating the political costs to themselves) necessitates a certain daring and boldness that many other activists don't share. How much of a role does macho bravado (and the peer pressure that accompanies it) play in such actions? Whether an action is legal or illegal shouldn't be the litmus test of the worth or importance of any particular tactic.

## Albert

In the aftermath of the Battle of Seattle, and in direct response to the ACME document, Michael Albert, the editor of *Z Magazine*, has written (and made public on the internet) a piece of quintessential social-democratic and authoritarian sectarianism: "On Trashing and Movement Building." While Albert isn't the only leftist to decry the deliberate acts of property damage on N30, the fact that he says he doesn't necessarily object to property destruction, coupled with the fact that he refuses to accuse these particular anarchists of being provocateurs, makes it especially important to critique his essay from an antiauthoritarian perspective.

Albert's tone throughout is patronizing, but his screed is supposed to look objective and reasonable. He does this by couching his tirade in terms of functionalism (invoking the "efficacy of movement building" as the only important criterion), and his own lengthy experiences (witnessing his erstwhile comrades' lamentable descent into Weatherman). He portrays himself as a patient but long-suffering sage who's been there before, who's already seen the inevitable, tragic results of such things. His job as a leader is to care; he just wants to help. Albert knows when "trashing" is a good thing, and when it's a bad thing: it's determined by whether it "will meet with widespread approval," when it "will increase the power of protest," when it serves to build the "movement," helps in "winning short-term demands, and laying the basis for winning longer term aims." The capacity for such foresight he naturally reserves for himself.

He has seen "organic" and "democratic" attacks on property, but he has also "been in demonstrations where trashing was horribly out of place, counter-productive, and irresponsible....Which was true in Seattle?" His observation is purely subjective and his question is rhetorical. But the fact that Albert only allows for one of two possibilities in his "discussion of movement building" shows how limited a thinker he is. Just because he wants the anti-WTO activities to constitute one "movement" doesn't make it so. His assumption is that there should be a popular front strategy,

where all "constituencies" of the "movement" only need to agree on who or what the so-called greatest enemy is, then knuckle under to the anti-revolutionary majority; peaceful legal protest and/or pacific civil disobedience are the only allowable tactics, otherwise there won't be "widespread approval" from people who are committed to cosmetic political change. Such ideological and practical limitation is authoritarian.

After establishing his anti-Vietnam war-era credentials (upon which he relies throughout "Trashing"), Albert asserts "If the trashing had been solely a spontaneous reaction to being gassed and clubbed...I could certainly empathize. But the fact that at least part of the trashing was pre-planned despite the overall demonstration's contrary self-definition...brings back memories of the Weathermen..." Any number of problems exist here. Albert seems to be demanding that any manifestation of discontent must be undertaken in reaction to something; he wants protest to be—and to remain—defensive.

How exactly do the actions of the black bloc remind him of Weatherman? Could it be their respective use of aggressive window-breaking tactics? Albert is about to tell us that he's not really opposed to "trashing" as such. What seems to concern him most is that any minority faction should be allowed to act independently, beyond "majority norms," despite the will of the organizers. This has nothing to do with whether or not the black bloc actions remind him of Weatherman. The rehashing of his experiences from the '60s in general, and his interactions with people in Weatherman in particular—however useful as oral history—are a red herring vis à vis Seattle: a diversionary tactic intended to avoid the much more important issues of the conflict between authoritarianism and antiauthoritarianism, and the divergence between moralizing leftists hoping that their "behavior will worry [!] elites into succumbing to pressure" and the anarchist strategy of direct action.

And it all begs the question: who gets to decide on a demonstration's "self-definition," and what does that mean anyway?

When Albert alerts us that he doesn't really object to "trashing" per se, he also alerts us to his need to control and/or direct any action before it can meet with his approval. He can't possibly sympathize with property destruction that doesn't grow "organically from the event's logic and intentions," like "clearly enunciated assaults on particular draft boards or ROTC buildings," (another '60s red herring) because it won't "meet with widespread approval." From whom? And what's a "clearly enunciated assault"? When the assaulters hand out an attractive and legible flier, or chant in unison from the diaphragm, slowly and deliberately? Obviously Albert supports spontaneous ("organic") property destruction when his popular front or his "constituencies" direct or participate in it; then it's democratic. Too bad for those who choose to engage in "highly organized" destruction; Albert has clearly enunciated his assault on their ability to act outside the pattern of protest-and-pout, where well-behaved citizens beg their rulers please to change some uncomfortable policy because it makes them sad. The irony of this position of course is that leftists like Albert have consistently dismissed antiauthoritarians for relying too much on the spontaneity of "the masses" in revolutionary situations,





# N30 Black Bloc Communique

by the ACME Collective

**A communique from one section of the black bloc of N30 in Seattle**

**O**n November 30, several groups of individuals in a black bloc attacked various corporate targets in downtown Seattle. Among them were (to name just a few):

Fidelity Investment (major investor in Occidental Petroleum, the bane of the U'wa tribe in Columbia), Bank of America, US Bancorp, Key Bank and Washington Mutual Bank (financial institutions key in the expansion of corporate repression), Old Navy, Banana Republic and the GAP (as Fisher family businesses, rapers of Northwest forest lands and sweatshop laborers), NikeTown and Levi's (whose overpriced products are made in sweatshops), McDonald's (slave-wage fast-food peddlers responsible for destruction of tropical rainforests for grazing land and

slaughter of animals), Starbucks (peddlers of an addictive substance whose products are harvested at below-poverty wages by farmers who are forced to destroy their own forests in the process) Warner Bros. (media monopolists), Planet Hollywood (for being Planet Hollywood).

This activity lasted for over 5 hours and involved the breaking of storefront windows and doors and defacing of facades. Slingshots, newspaper boxes, sledge hammers, mallets, crowbars and nail-pullers were used to strategically destroy corporate property and gain access (one of the three targeted Starbucks and Niketown were looted). Eggs filled with glass etching solution, paint-balls and spray-paint were also used.





relying on their own hierarchical and centralized parties to tell “the masses” when, where, and how to rebel.

Albert whines about the “trashing” providing a pretext and a justification for police violence against non-violent protesters. The fact is, as has been repeated in just about every account, that the police had begun gassing, shoving, clubbing, and shooting the non-violent demonstrators hours before the black bloc even showed up. Whether or not there had been any property damage during N30, there would have been plenty of media attention due to the overreaction of the cops. The Seattle PD had only one plan for the illegal demonstrations: crowd dispersal. Mass arrests were not on the agenda. Thanks to the astute analysis of hacks like Medea Benjamin of Global Exchange, everyone knows that even after the black bloc was engaging in assaults on corporate property (which the cops “ignored”), the police were apparently only concerned with punishing the non-violent crowds who refused to disperse, attacking them with escalated vigor and the aid of armored vehicles. Both Albert and Benjamin, fretting over media attention, are worried only about how non-involved “constituencies” might react to the visions of corporate property damage; neither appear to care much about the chill that was cast upon non-violent protest by the police use of chemical and rubber weapons, as well as the declaration of a civil emergency (not martial law, as some have irresponsibly exaggerated).

My impression from reading various people’s opinions in articles that followed the end of the anti-WTO events in Seattle is that, while they might publicly disapprove of property damage, they quietly appreciate the choices of

targets. Will such clandestine sympathy help build Albert’s “movement”? Probably not; but neither will those folks physically attack others who choose to break windows—unlike members of the “movement” like Benjamin and her pals, the self-appointed guardians of corporate property, who were more concerned with protecting NikeTown than with protecting their “constituencies” who were getting attacked by the cops. Albert can only express his doubt that anyone would guard corporate stores by assaulting members of the black bloc. Why? Because “whether this happened or not would tell us nothing about the efficacy of trashing.” People are supposed to take this seriously?

The issue of protection is where Albert’s sanctimonious moralist preaching floods into his diatribe. He posits an alternative to breaking windows that would have helped to build the “movement” through self-sacrifice and solidarity: “Imagine that the various anarchist contingents in Seattle had provided energy, song, creativity, militancy at the rallies and especially civil disobedience, and had then also, on top of that, not gone off breaking windows but, instead, remained with others shielding them, assisting those hurt, helping those suffering the gas, and so on. This would have capped their otherwise positive involvement with exemplary behavior, rather than tailing off into counter productivity.” What if, instead of physically confronting those intent on breaking windows, the defenders of property had instead interfered with the photographing of illegal actions? Those activists who chose to damage things would not have their faces plastered all over the Seattle PD’s web page. The non-“trashers” would have displayed exemplary solidarity with their fellow demon-



strators, proving that anti-WTO sentiment was more important than crowd control and law enforcement. What if, indeed; is my admittedly false fantasy any more absurd than his?

Albert complains that the window-breaking diverted people's attention and indignation away from the WTO, but his laughable fantasy of anarchists protecting non-violent liberals and leftists ("Suppose that [they] had become a support group for those suffering police assaults, rallying spirit and protecting bodies.") puts all the attention on the actions of the cops, ignoring the larger issue of the WTO—exactly what he says the window-breakers did! When have leftists ever gone out of their way to defend anarchists as anarchists? Unreciprocated solidarity from anarchists toward authoritarian leftists and bourgeois liberals is one of the sorriest aspects of the history of anarchism, and Albert is calling for more of the same. How stupid does he think we are?

Even aside from the overall arrogance in terms of whether or not "trashing" serves his purposes, Albert's typically authoritarian leftist analysis ignores the problems of engaging in activities that go against the anarchist principle of direct action. "Winning demands" and "winning aims" make it appear that the only possible or useful way of having some injustice remedied is to "demand" that some powerful "constituency" do something about it, with the "aim" of creating some (counter) institution. Anarchist strategy is based on direct action: doing things yourself, where no person not interested in the outcome is involved or asked permission. If a plan is undertaken with the idea that a person with some official decision-making power needs to be consulted—rather than ignored—then such an action isn't direct, and therefore isn't anarchist.

Albert presumes to have the power and authority to excommunicate these heretics (and probably any and all of their supporters/admirers) from the "movement" because of their "anti-democratic" actions. It's unfair to condemn Albert for not having an anarchist ethic (supporting direct action), since he's not an anarchist; by the same token, it's unfair for him to condemn anarchists for not having a democratic ethic (bending to the will of the magical majority), since anarchists are not democrats. As such, how much sense does it make for him to whine about all these "undemocratic" actions and people, when they've never said they were interested in democracy or his "movement" in the first place? That he wants them to be part of it (to inflate the numbers—and therefore the importance—of such a "movement") is clear; otherwise he wouldn't take it all so personally.

What about "majority norms" and "democratic, mutually respectful movements"? The people sitting in the streets, withstanding police assaults with courageous determination, didn't try to stop the windows from being broken (that was left to the peace police). The window-breakers, trying to avoid the police altogether, didn't try to stop people from sitting in the streets. This looks like mutual respect.

Each contingent decided what was best and took responsibility for themselves, acknowledging that the protests against the WTO were broad enough to contain actions that were both massive and small, legal and illegal, damaging to the image of the forces of law and order (both professional and amateur, salaried and honorary) as well as damaging to

## N30 Black Bloc Communique (continued)

The black bloc was a loosely organized cluster of affinity groups and individuals who roamed around downtown, pulled this way by a vulnerable and significant storefront and that way by the sight of a police formation. Unlike the vast majority of activists who were pepper-sprayed, tear-gassed and shot at with rubber bullets on several occasions, most of our section of the black bloc escaped serious injury by remaining constantly in motion and avoiding engagement with the police. We buddied up, kept tight and watched each others' backs. Those attacked by federal thugs were un-arrested by quick-thinking and organized members of the black bloc. The sense of solidarity was awe-inspiring.

### THE PEACE POLICE

Unfortunately, the presence and persistence of "peace police" was quite disturbing. On at least 6 separate occasions, so-called "non-violent" activists physically attacked individuals who targeted corporate property. Some even went so far as to stand in front of the Niketown super store and tackle and shove the black bloc away. Indeed, such self-described "peace-keepers" posed a much greater threat to individuals in the black bloc than the notoriously violent uniformed "peace-keepers" sanctioned by the state (undercover officers have even used the cover of the activist peace-keepers to ambush those who engage in corporate property destruction).

### RESPONSE TO THE BLACK BLOC

Response to the black bloc has highlighted some of the contradictions and internal oppressions of the "nonviolent activist" community. Aside from the obvious hypocrisy of those who engaged in violence against black-clad and masked people (many of whom were harassed despite the fact that they never engaged in property destruction), there is the racism of privileged activists who can afford to ignore the violence perpetrated against the bulk of society and the natural world in the name of private property rights. Window-smashing has engaged and inspired many of the most oppressed members of Seattle's community more than any giant puppets or sea turtle costumes ever could (not to disparage the effectiveness of those tools in other communities).

### TEN MYTHS ABOUT THE BLACK BLOC

Here's a little something to dispel the myths that have been circulating about the N30 black bloc:

1. "They are all a bunch of Eugene anarchists." While a few may be anarchists from Eugene, we hail from all over the United States, including Seattle. In any case, most of us are familiar with local issues in Seattle (for instance, the recent occupation of downtown by some of the most nefarious of multinational retailers).
2. "They are all followers of John Zerzan." A lot of rumors have been circulating that we are followers of John Zerzan, an anarcho-primitivist author from Eugene who advocates property destruction. While some of us may appreciate his writings and analyses, he is in no sense our leader, directly, indirectly, philosophically or otherwise.



### N30 Black Bloc Communique (continued)

3. "The mass public squat is the headquarters of the anarchists who destroyed property on November 30th." In reality, most of the people in the "Autonomous Zone" squat are residents of Seattle who have spent most of their time since its opening on the 28th in the squat. While they may know of one-another, the two groups are not co-extensive and in no case could the squat be considered the headquarters of people who destroyed property.

4. "They escalated situations on the 30th, leading to the tear-gassing of passive, non-violent protesters." To answer this, we need only note that tear-gassing, pepper-spraying and the shooting of rubber bullets all began before the black blocs (as far as we know) started engaging in property destruction. In addition, we must resist the tendency to establish a causal relationship between police repression and protest in any form, whether it involved property destruction or not. The police are charged with protecting the interests of the wealthy few and the blame for the violence cannot be placed upon those who protest those interests.

5. Conversely: "They acted in response to the police repression." While this might be a more positive representation of the black bloc, it is nevertheless false. We refuse to be misconstrued as a purely reactionary force. While the logic of the black bloc may not make sense to some, it is in any case a pro-active logic.

6. "They are a bunch of angry adolescent boys." Aside from the fact that it belies a disturbing ageism and sexism, it is false. Property destruction is not merely macho rabble-rousing or testosterone-laden angst release. Nor is it displaced and reactionary anger. It is strategically and specifically targeted direct action against corporate interests.

7. "They just want to fight." This is pretty absurd, and it conveniently ignores the eagerness of "peace police" to fight us. Of all the groups engaging in direct action, the black bloc was perhaps the least interested in engaging the authorities and we certainly had no interest in fighting with other anti-WTO activists (despite some rather strong disagreements over tactics).

8. "They are a chaotic, disorganized and opportunistic mob." While many of us could surely spend days arguing over what "chaotic" means, we were certainly not disorganized. The organization may have been fluid and dynamic, but it was tight. As for the charge of opportunism, it would be hard to imagine who of the thousands in attendance *didn't* take advantage of the opportunity created in Seattle to advance their agenda. The question becomes, then, whether or not we helped create that opportunity and most of us certainly did (which leads us to the next myth):

9. "They don't know the issues" or "they aren't activists who've been working on this." While we may not be professional activists, we've all been working on this convergence in Seattle for months. Some of us did work in our home-towns and others came to Seattle months in advance to work on it. To be sure, we were responsible for many hundreds of people who came out on the streets on the 30th, only a very small minority of which had anything to do with the black bloc.



Independent Media Center: www.indymedia.org

**Albert whines about the "trashing" providing a pretext and a justification for police violence against non-violent protesters. The fact is, as has been repeated in just about every account, that the police had begun gassing, shoving, clubbing, and shooting the non-violent demonstrators hours before the black bloc even showed up. Whether or not there had been any property damage during N30, there would have been plenty of media attention due to the overreaction of the cops. The Seattle PD had only one plan for the illegal demonstrations: crowd dispersal. Mass arrests were not on the agenda.**

storefronts of corporations. Communication and coordination among all factions interested in demonstrating against the WTO was undertaken from the beginning, and members of the black bloc made no secret of the fact that corporate property damage was on their agenda. The lack of resolution to the conflict between those ideologically opposed to attacks on property and those who see it as an ideological imperative was partially overcome by having each type of action take place in different areas. If different contingents agree with each other on tactics and strategies, so much the better; if not, so what? Groups and individuals can agree to disagree without wrecking a coalition or an event; but Michael Albert and his allies are pushing for a monolithic majoritarian "movement," where stifling dissent is a necessity, and where strategies and tactics can only reflect the lowest common denominator.



## N30 Black Bloc Communiqué (continued)

10. "Masked anarchists are anti-democratic and secretive because they hide their identities." Let's face it (with or without a mask)—we aren't living in a democracy right now. If this week has not made it plain enough, let us remind you—we are living in a police state. People tell us that if we really think that we're right, we wouldn't be hiding behind masks. "The truth will prevail" is the assertion. While this is a fine and noble goal, it does not jive with the present reality. Those who pose the greatest threat to the interests of Capital and State will be persecuted. Some pacifists would have us accept this persecution gleefully. Others would tell us that it is a worthy sacrifice. We are not so morose. Nor do we feel we have the privilege to accept persecution as a sacrifice: persecution to us is a daily inevitability and we treasure our few freedoms. To accept incarceration as a form of flattery betrays a large amount of "first world" privilege. We feel that an attack on private property is necessary if we are to rebuild a world which is useful, healthful and joyful for everyone. And this despite the fact that hypertrophied private property rights in this country translate into felony charges for any property destruction over \$250.

### MOTIVATIONS OF THE BLACK BLOC

The primary purpose of this communiqué is to diffuse some of the aura of mystery that surrounds the black bloc and make some of its motivations more transparent, since our masks cannot be.

### ON THE VIOLENCE OF PROPERTY

We contend that property destruction is not a violent activity unless it destroys lives or causes pain in the process. By this definition, private property—especially corporate private property—is itself infinitely more violent than any action taken against it. Private property should be distinguished from personal property. The latter is based upon use while the former is based upon trade. The premise of personal property is that each of us has what s/he needs. The premise of private property is that each of us has something that someone else needs or wants. In a society based on private property rights, those who are able to accrue more of what others need or want have greater power. By extension, they wield greater control over what others perceive as needs and desires, usually in the interest of increasing profit to themselves.

Advocates of "free trade" would like to see this process to its logical conclusion: a network of a few industry monopolists with ultimate control over the lives of everyone else. Advocates of "fair trade" would like to see this process mitigated by government regulations meant to superficially impose basic humanitarian standards. As anarchists, we despise both positions.

Private property—and capitalism, by extension—is intrinsically violent and repressive and cannot be reformed or mitigated. Whether the power of everyone is concentrated into the hands of a few corporate heads or diverted into a regulatory apparatus charged with mitigating the disasters of the latter, no one can be as free or as powerful as they could be in a non-hierarchical society. When we smash a window, we aim to destroy the thin veneer of legitimacy that surrounds private property rights. At the same time, we exorcise that set of violent and destructive social relationships which has been imbued in almost everything

around us. By "destroying" private property, we convert its limited exchange value into an expanded use value. A storefront window becomes a vent to let some fresh air into the oppressive atmosphere of a retail outlet (at least until the police decide to tear-gas a nearby road blockade). A newspaper box becomes a tool for creating such vents or a small blockade for the reclamation of public space or an object to improve one's vantage point by standing on it. A dumpster becomes an obstruction to a phalanx of rioting cops and a source of heat and light. A building facade becomes a message board to record brainstorm ideas for a better world.

After N30, many people will never see a shop window or a hammer the same way again. The potential uses of an entire cityscape have increased a thousand-fold. The number of broken windows pales in comparison to the number broken spells—spells cast by a corporate hegemony to lull us into forgetfulness of all the violence committed in the name of private property rights and of all the potential of a society without them. Broken windows can be boarded up (with yet more waste of our forests) and eventually replaced, but the shattering of assumptions will hopefully persist for some time to come.

Against Capital and State,  
the ACME Collective  
"Peasant Revolt!"

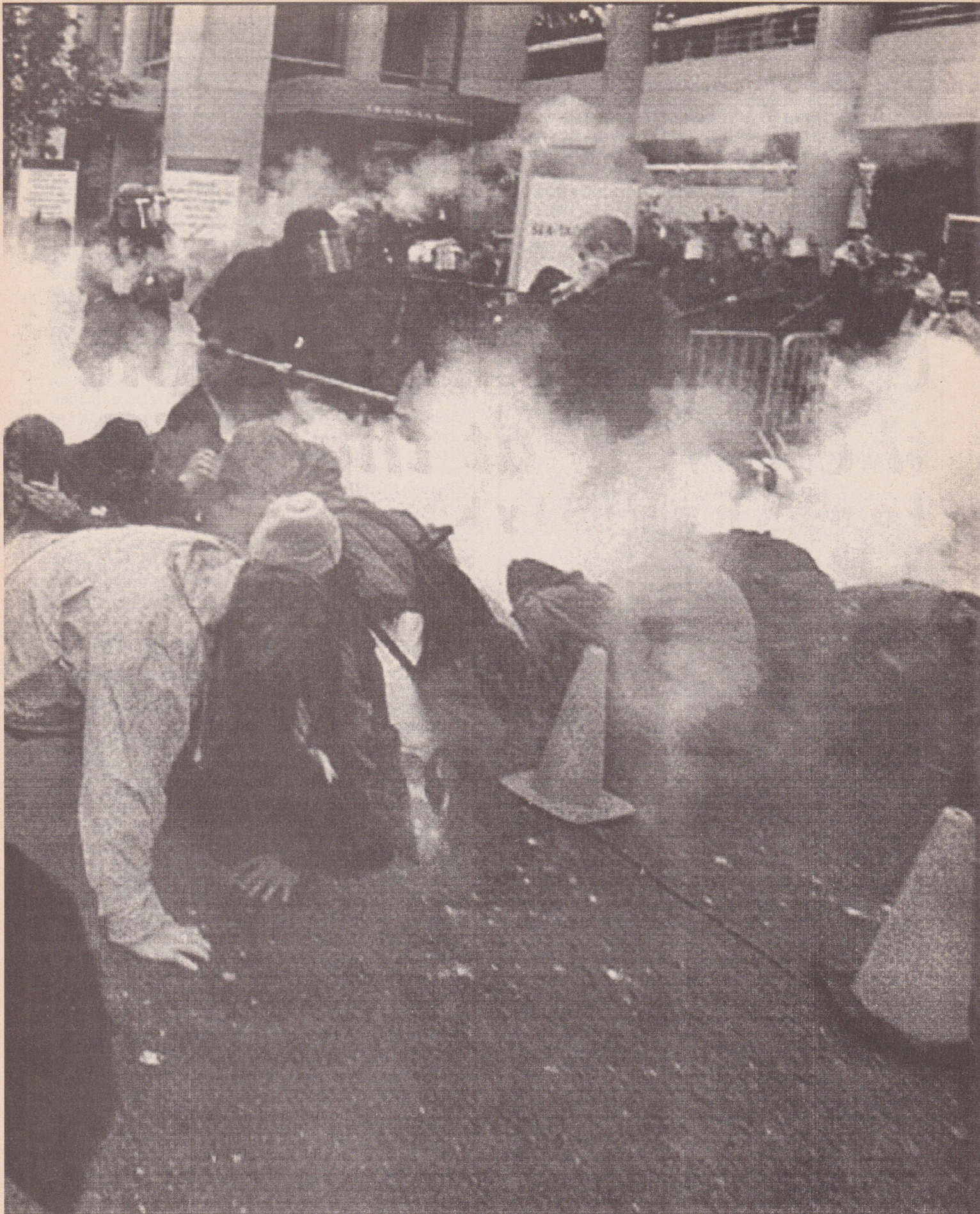
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Disclaimer: these observations and analyses represent only those of the ACME Collective and should not be construed to be representative of the rest of the black bloc on N30 or anyone else who engaged in riot or property destruction that day.

## JUST SAY NO TO THE WTO



**CARNIVAL AGAINST CAPITAL!**  
**SEATTLE, NOV.29-DEC.3, 1999**







# Smashing Seattle: How Anarchists Stole the Show at the WTO

Jonathan Slyk

“**E**verything is right here in one place!” Ann Frisch, a professor at the University of Wisconsin told a *Seattle Times* reporter as she arrived at the Greyhound Station. Then added, “Gandhi would have been thrilled.”

The Pacific Northwest was a perfect locale for both the World Trade Organization Ministerial Summit and the last mass protest of the century. Home to Boeing and Microsoft, icons of the new techno-future, and birthplace of grunge music, soundtrack to the nasty '90s—it foretold of a classic drama between top and pop, elite and street.

On Tuesday morning, November 30, (N30), the tear gas started early. A large contingent had gathered at the corner of 6th Ave. and University St., where they intended to block traffic. Police launched two canisters there around 9:30 a.m., and had already begun pepper-spraying protesters. Moments later, more tear gas canisters were dumped on 6th and Union. Officials had woefully underestimated the human tide, and cops were swamped. People accumulated exponentially around the Washington State Convention and Trade Center.

And they kept coming. Tens of thousands of the first wave of demonstrators, festooned by a sea of banners and placards converged along 4th and 5th Ave. They dressed up as business tycoons on stilts, as monarch butterflies, vegetables, fish, and pigs. Talk about biodiversity. The highlight was a group of about 200 environmentalists fabulously made up in brilliant green-blue-black sea turtle outfits, complete with an

enormous, inflatable turtle floating above them. Also prominent were: veterans groups, Free Tibet campaigners, Free Mumia supporters, indigenous rights groups, Earth First!, a gigantic condom by Greenpeace, and some folks calling themselves Vegan Dykes and Lesbian Avengers happily strolling along topless. “A Noah’s Ark of flat-earth advocates, protectionist trade unions, and yuppies looking for their ‘60s fix,” grunted a *New York Times* columnist.

Estimates ranged anywhere from 30,000 to 100,000 depending who one asked. Roughly 700 parade marshals were on hand, identified by orange fluorescent hats and vests. Legal advisors wore white. The largest organizers were the AFL-CIO, Global Exchange, and Direct Action Network, the offspring of San Francisco’s Art and Revolution. The Ruckus Society, Ralph Nader’s public citizens, women’s groups, peaceniks, and leftists of every denomination rounded out the cast. According to *The Oregonian*, right-wing militias also planned to send “silent observers.” At Memorial Stadium, 20,000 attended a day-long labour rally. All over the city, teach-ins, debates, movies, forums, and lectures raged on. Dock workers booked-off work, and several schools closed. Choreographed acts of civil disobedience went ahead at strategic locations. On 4th and Union, more tear gas was fired.

Then one group upstaged all the others.

Sometime around noon, using the enormous crowds as cover, upwards of 180 black-clad anarchists threw a monkey wrench into the plans of polite, middle-class organizers.



Darting in and out of the march, they smashed windows and trashed the shops of such notorious corporations as Nike, The Gap, Nordstrom, Starbucks, McDonald's, Banana Republic, and Old Navy, as well as some banks for good measure. At Westlake Center, crowbars and newspaper boxes shattered through storefronts setting off a festival of rioting and joyful destruction, while anti-corporate graffiti provided subtitles to the *fin-de-siècle* mayhem.

They were known as the *black bloc*, a cadre of male and female twenty-somethings, most of whom had met up that week. The moniker refers more to a tactic than any official regular group. Historically, the roots of black bloc stretch back to punk and the anti-nuclear protests in late 1970s Europe. In cities like London, Berlin, and Amsterdam, a mass squatters movement emerged from a generation of disenfranchised youth, who for reasons due partially to the economics of the time, were struggling to live more autonomously outside the system. From this counter-cultural cauldron, grew increasingly radical politics, and by extension, tactics. Heavier police enforcement at demonstrations together with surveillance of activists, had forced groups like Earth First! and Animal Liberation Front, then in their infancy, to mask up and go underground with their actions. Borrowing these techniques and adding others, including black apparel, anarchists reinvigorated themselves, flanked with the newly created black bloc. Less than a decade later, the first black blocs formed in North America.

In Seattle, meetings were so secret that close friends of the bloc had no idea where they were held or exactly who planned to do what when. Their personal backgrounds were equally elusive. Most hailed from far and wide, or no fixed address. Some were regulars who traveled the demo circuit, daring to do what most activists won't. Others were from Eugene, Oregon, where the previous June, a "Reclaim the Streets" party erupted into a well-publicized riot. Loosely organized and comprised of clusters of affinity groups, they were highly effective and loyal to one another. They learned to avoid engagement with police by "buddying up and watching each other's backs."

Those recognizable sounds of splintering glass soon made it clear the tenor of the WTO demonstration had changed. Inevitably some of the righteous, primed by years of social conditioning, jumped in the way of individual marauders with pleas of "no violence" or "please don't..." One group shouted "Shame!" A few tried to stop the vandals when a couple of union goons pounced on one and sat on him while yelling out for police. Corporations could get away with murder in Nigeria and Bhopal, with sweatshops in Indonesia,

and with ecocide the world over, it seemed, but if a NikeTown window got broken, one could always count on unionists and peace creeps to defend corporate property.

With tear gas wafting through the air, the bulk of the march proceeded slowly towards the Convention Center. Riot cops, decked out in Darth Vader-style helmets, gas masks, and military appurtenances, frantically tried to clear intersections with yet more canisters. In response, some protesters gingerly picked them up and heaved them back. Many had

brought their own gas masks in anticipation of just such an occasion. Meanwhile, at Memorial Stadium, thousands from the Labour rally were beginning their trek towards the downtown core. Streets became clogged near the Paramount Theater and Convention Center. There, Direct Action networkers had formed a human chain around the block, preventing trade delegates from going in or out.

Though most stores downtown were closed, some remained open, and patrons peered nervously from inside. They failed to notice that local shops next to the ransacked global chain retailers were left untouched.

The demolition kids knew

what they were doing, for this was a political act. Nearby proprietors didn't understand it, but feared the worst anyway. Starbucks, on the other hand, quickly realized what was happening and promptly sent orders to close down thirty of its outlets city-wide. Minor looting commenced in the wake of beckoning windows, however anarchists did not partake, having already fled the scene. Besides, looting would have just been more consumerism.

The black bloc constituted a fraction of the total number of anarchists in Seattle. The vast majority engaged in gentler pursuits. For instance, a talented anarchist marching band was seen meandering through the streets, as were anarchists simply carrying signs. Non-bloc anarchists also helped Direct-Actioneers in taunting motorists and harassing vehicles, or anyone that looked like they might be a trade official. Limos were eagerly targeted. Giant street puppets corralled cars and Grim Reapers menaced drivers. Some anarchists distributed leaflets. Red circle-A's and revolutionary slogans were spray-painted everywhere. Thus a splendiferous Mardi Gras atmosphere provided the backdrop for a 'teachable moment.'

Oddly, almost before the first scarlet graffiti was dry, teams of smiling clean-up crews went around scrubbing off the politically dangerous phrases and symbols. Thanks to these squads of law-abiding moonies, the air lingering in some places became a volatile mix of tear gas, pepper-spray and cleaning solvent.

In the late afternoon, arrests of those participating in street blockades near the Convention Center began in earnest.

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Hard take-downs ensued, scuffles broke out, and people got pissed off. More tear gas followed. Consequently, more stores got trashed, including Planet Hollywood. Rubber bullets spattered crowds as cops and demonstrators took turns controlling, then losing, key areas. Somewhere in the middle of the chaos, a black-clad woman stood gazing at a battered Christmas window. "That's really beautiful," she told a *Seattle Times* journalist. When pressed why, she answered, "I just like the way the glass broke." Apparently the "art-house response" didn't sit well with the reporter. Nevertheless, by five o'clock, the black bloc were gone. All but a few got away clean.

Despite organizers' best efforts to instill peaceful group-think, it was too late—anarchists had set the tone. Resistance to police attacks was tentative and sporadic in the beginning. Once the stores were ripped open, the contagious revelry encouraged more people to fight back more vigorously. Mayor Paul Schell, in obvious defeat, declared a civic emergency and the National Guard was called in to restore order. Or so it was hoped. By nightfall, dumpsters were torched and glorious bonfires lit the streets as thousands rampaged through downtown continuing to protest in defiance of curfews.

Predictably, the corporate news media rushed in to vilify those who refused to play nice. Seattle's KIRO 7 and KING 5 television had wall to wall coverage accompanied by snide remarks. As if competing for the most lies, they variously accused window breakers of everything from "wearing Nike sneakers" to "stealing Starbucks coffee." to "not knowing what the WTO was." On CNN's *Burden of Proof*, Naderite Lori Wallach berated the "hooligans." The AFL-CIO,

Canadian Federation of Labour, and enviros alike joined in condemning the vandalism. As usual, damage to inanimate objects was labeled "violence." Fortunately, a better spin could be obtained from Indy Media, an activist run website which had installed its own cameras around town, providing live streaming video.

The next day, a fifty square block area of downtown was designated a "No Protest Zone." Desperate, the authorities began mass arrests, particularly around the Westlake area. Perception of law and order became top priority since President Clinton had now arrived to attend the Summit. They also started making up laws. Overnight it became a felony to buy, sell, or possess a gas mask. The change in strategy also removed what scant procedural limits there were on police. Cop thugs freely terrorized protesters, going so far as to chase people down, rip off their handkerchiefs, and deliberately tear-gas them in the face. Hepped up on authority, they charged into crowds without warning as white strands of flex-cuffs dangled from their hips. Protesters, non-protesters, soccer moms—everyone—got caught in the blitzkrieg. People began seeking refuge inside the stores and coffee shops that remained open. At Pike Place Market, this ironically resulted in record sales for the anarchist Left Bank Bookstore.

A surreal panorama of boarded up shops, debris swirling in the streets, and armored personnel carriers appearing and disappearing through clouds of tear gas evoked images of Eastern European upheavals. Concussion grenades punctured the air with thunder-flashes, and countless people fell mysteriously ill to what was suspected to be a nerve agent. As helicopters flew overhead and sirens wailed, it was forgivable



to wonder if NATO bombers might be next.

Scores of demonstrators then decided to test the No Protest Zone by laying down inside the perimeter and offering themselves for symbolic arrest. So many, that long, articulated transit buses were brought in to haul them all away. Elsewhere, unprovoked attacks continued, and anyone who wasn't an anarchist before had likely become one. Added to the numerous anecdotal complaints of brutality, were those embarrassing video clips of cops kicking people in the groin and pummeling teenagers with batons. A headline in the *Vancouver Sun* dryly summarized the mood: "Day 2: Police Sweep With No Mercy."

Police barbarity even radicalized people who stayed home. For two consecutive nights, riot cops drove hordes of protesters out of downtown and into the adjacent residential neighborhood of Capitol Hill, a gay/alternative enclave. Then inexplicably, they chased in after them—pepper-spray, rubber bullets and all. At first it was almost comical. "Hey, check it out!" quipped one resident as he held up a thick, penis-shaped bullet. "These motherfuckers are firing butt-plugs at us!" The laughter lasted only until the cops closed in on the community, whacking and tear-gassing everything that moved. The mayor's directive to "take back the streets" was met with chants of "Whose Streets?—Our Streets!" Speaking at a press conference on Thursday, December 2, Police Chief Norm Stamper maintained his officers "had shown remarkable restraint." (As if what they really wanted to do was gun everybody down). He also fingered the blame on "bad apples and anarchists."

The last two days of the Summit were comparatively mundane, although busloads of protesters were still being arrested. Friday witnessed another human chain, this time in 'jail solidarity' around King County Jail. Reports of mistreatment leaked from both the jail and from the Sand Point Naval Base where others were held. During the week, less hostile accommodations had been found by dozens of local anarchists when they seized two floors of a building on Virginia St. The city had cut off both power and water, but many hoped to stay in their new autonomous zone, at least while they negotiated with the owner. The squatters were attempting to draw attention to the homeless problem, but journalists were only interested in asking whether they had participated in property damage.

When it was all over, more than 600 people had been arrested and damage was estimated in the multi-millions. The Ministerial Summit proved fruitless, and talks collapsed.

On the rooftop of the squat, they hoisted an anarchist black flag in victory. Conceit may have led some anarchists to believe they alone derailed the World Trade Organization meeting. Still, without their presence, the event would not have achieved the same heights of furor. And the black bloc rescued it from being a Very Brady protest. For five staggering days, a collective voice resounded with an obstreperous

'No' to totalitarian capitalism. Down below on the streets, amidst the strewn garbage and smouldering dumpsters, leftists had degenerated into the familiar chorus of "hey hey, ho ho..."

By Monday morning, December 6, Police Chief Norm Stamper had resigned in disgrace. The public was outraged over having their city turned into a war zone. Capitol Hill residents were especially livid. Hundreds of complaints piled up, city council forums held, and law suits were filed. When

Amnesty International was contacted to assist with the investigation of abuses, it came as the final humiliation.

Media frenzy surrounding the "hooded vandals" had been escalating since N30 and threatened to overwhelm the entire protest. It effectively did. The local media: *Seattle Times*, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, *Seattle Weekly*, KIRO 7 and KING

5, all ran features and interviews. The *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, CNN, and *60 Minutes II* also had anarchist-related stories. Some reporters were searching for the next big youth thing. *Time* seemed to speak for the rest when it asked, "Who are these guys anyway?"

These kids didn't come to simply break the windows of The Gap, but to *physically* perform a metaphor against the system as a whole, including the very idea of protest itself. "We think it is no good to fight merely the latest excess of capital/technology/civilization," stated the Anarchist Action Collective. Another vandal told the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, "Property destruction is not violence...We're not going to lay down and say, 'Peace, love, let me give you a flower piggie.'" That sentiment seemed to resonate with a lot of activists in the emerald city, not just anarchists. A growing number of people, young and old, feel the same tired rituals aren't working anymore. Clearly, pacifism and its franchise of single-issue McProtests is bankrupt.

After a week's terror from the arsenal of the Government-Business-Media complex, maybe some will reflect more deeply on what radical change really means. The system's demand for daily sacrifice through work, production, obedience, dependency, and ecological meltdown in exchange for "the good life," is a mask that keeps slipping. But only the left still believes that protests, violent or not, actually achieve anything, which is why so much importance is placed on making sure demonstrations look respectable and don't "get out of hand."

If there was a message to come out of the "Battle in Seattle" or indeed the last millennium, it may be that it will take more than Walt Disney tactics and Gandhian placebos; more than banners, human chains, or lock-downs; and of course, more than broken windows to halt the terminal trajectory of industrial civilization. In a communiqué released on December 4 by a section of the black bloc, it aptly concluded, "Broken windows can be boarded up ...and eventually replaced, but the shattering of assumptions will hopefully persist for some time to come."



# A16 Revolutionary Anti-Capitalist Bloc

Washington DC, April 9-16

**D**ue to differences in politics, tactics, and organizing principles with the current direct action networks that are springing up throughout the world, we are calling for an organized bloc of all stripes of anti-authoritarian, anti-capitalist revolutionaries at the upcoming demonstrations against the IMF/World Bank. We are not, however, calling for a strictly anarchist black bloc. We want to open the call to those "outside of anarchism," comrades who struggle for much the same truly revolutionary anti-capitalist goals that we do: the abolition of capitalism, the state, and all forms of hierarchy and oppression. Our intent is not to be divisive of the larger protest but to more effectively support it by organizing autonomously. We feel that it is necessary to organize separately as autonomists, anarchists, anti-state libertarian marxists, wobblies, council communists, etc., for a number of reasons:

The reformist message of "fair trade, not free trade," and all of the talk about "pruning" and "fixing" that was in the streets in Seattle and has subsequently been pushed in the organizing of the A16 demo, as well as within the larger anti-globalization movement, is unacceptable. While we realize the need to combat the issues that effect our daily lives and those of our comrades the world over, this must be done within a larger anti-capitalist, revolutionary critique that doesn't stop with single-issue struggles.

National protectionism and calls for national sovereignty, which pit the international working class against itself, cannot be tolerated. One nation-state is just as bad as any other nation-state, and so we have to agitate for the abolition of all of them. We are internationalists and therefore, regardless of political borders, see the need to globalize resistance to all of capitalism.

We cannot accept the active participation of cops and/or peacekeepers in this or any other movement, protest, or demonstration. Those whose job it is to protect the ruling class' interests cannot be trusted to simultaneously support us. While our main goal is to shut down the IMF/World Bank meeting, it is quite predictable that the cops will aggressively attack those actions, immediately drawing lines between the protesters on one hand, and the cops, "police liaisons," and "peacekeepers" on the other. We do not support collaboration with the enemy at large and they should not be invited nor supported at this demonstration. These and other authoritarian turns that the organizers have taken are extremely dismaying to us and begin to show hastily covered fractures among those of us working to make this demonstration happen.

We can not work with people who dictate what tactics are and are not appropriate. No one should be pretending to own this

movement or this demo. Unfortunately, to disallow participation because of opposition to tactics and actions that aren't solely symbolic betrays a reformist agenda from the get-go. We are not advocating for any particular tactic; we are simply defending the individual's right to act autonomously however they see fit against our real enemies. If aggressive self-defense or property destruction is unacceptable to some then they shouldn't engage in it.

This is a call for more active participation of anarchist and other like-minded revolutionaries in the entire anti-globalization movement to counter reformist perspectives and goals with revolutionary, anti-capitalist, anti-authoritarian actions and ideas. At A16 we envision an active and creative contingent of revolutionaries marching under black, red & black, and green & black flags, anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian banners, and a hail of revolutionary drumbeats. We are mobilizing marching bands, radical cheerleaders, and planning a whole assortment of highly organized creative mayhem! To all of our comrades who support this call, we encourage you to get in touch, endorse it, and take to the streets with your anti-capitalist imaginations and desires!

Do not let the blows against this capitalist system cease! From the streets of Seattle, to Washington, DC, may our resistance be as transnational as capital!

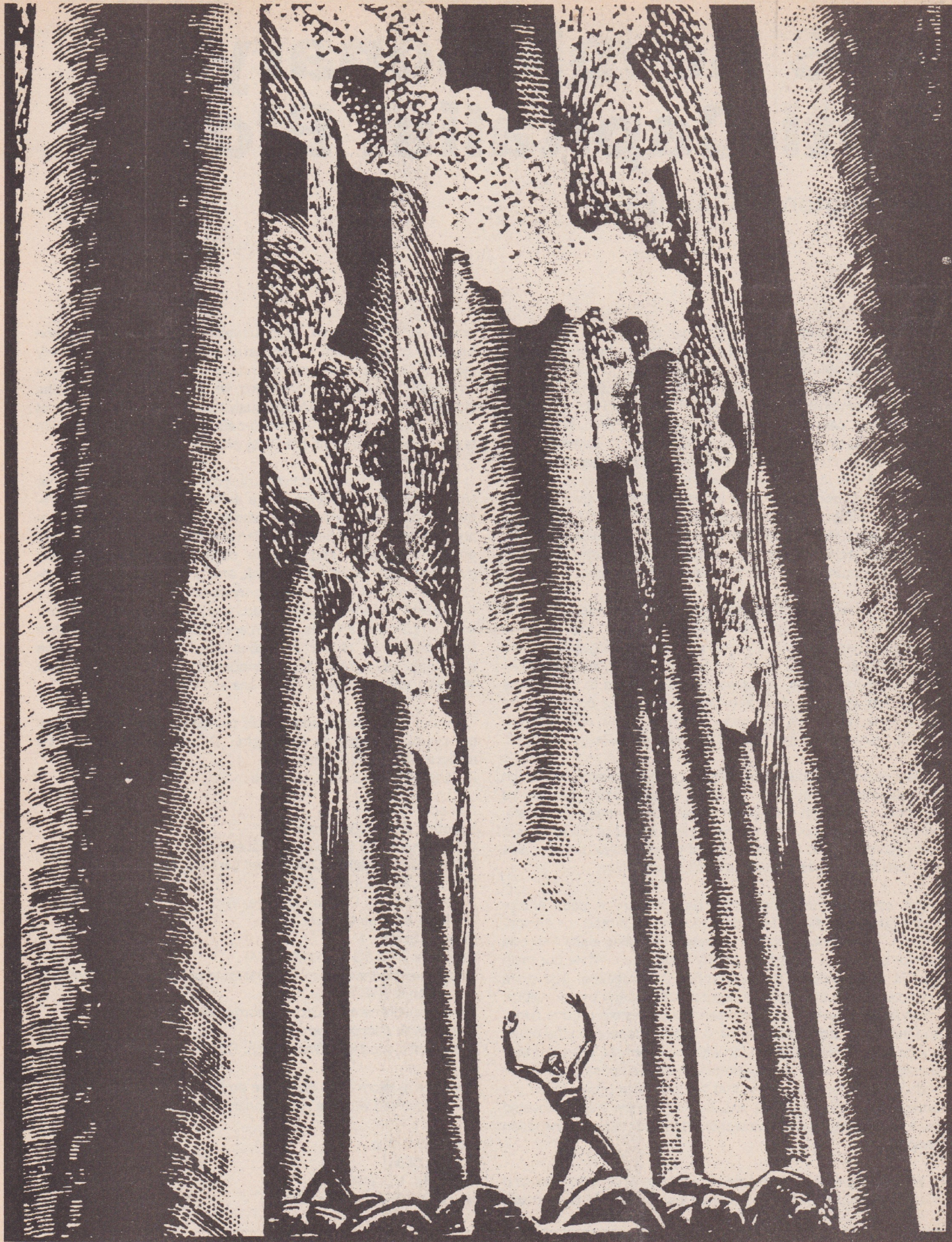
**SOLIDARITY AND REVOLUTION!**

Signed,  
Nosotros Group (Baltimore, MD)  
Group Anarchiste Emile-Henry (Quebec)  
Active Transformation (Detroit-East Lansing, MI)  
Global Action (Eugene, OR)  
Mutual Aid Legal Defense (Seattle, WA)  
We Dare Be Free (Boston, MA)  
Sabate (Boston, MA)  
Lancaster ABC-SG (Lancaster, PA)  
Flint Jones-Northeast Regional Delegate of the Workers Solidarity Alliance (WSA-IWA)  
Morgantown Anarchist Group (Morgantown, WV)  
Prole Revolt (Morgantown, WV)  
Mid-Atlantic Infoshop (Washington, DC)

For general information about the protest see: [www.A16.org](http://www.A16.org)  
To get involved with the revolutionary bloc contact:

Nosotros Group  
PO Box 65341  
Baltimore, MD 21209  
email: [DURRUTI36@aol.com](mailto:DURRUTI36@aol.com)







# Banish the Present: *Dance of Destruction*

## Faridabad Majdoor Samachar

### Introduction

*What follow are pieces from our monthly Hindi language publication Faridabad Majdoor Samachar.*

Given that accumulated labour has the capacity to make living labour productive/more productive, there is a position which advocates the elimination of human suffering and creation of a humane society through a qualitative leap in accumulated labour by breaking the bonds that hinder accumulation.

And given that for more than five thousand years now, accumulated labour has been antagonistic to living labour, there is another position that equates human suffering to accumulated labour as such.

Pragmatism appears and advocates putting brakes to accumulated labour while avoiding the questioning of the existing social relations.

It is in this scenario that questions for alternatives need to be posed.

Given that the reality that confronts us is both global and dynamic, the pieces here are necessarily fragmentary. Exchanging experiences and ideas of different facets in forms that keep the everyday totality within the reach of ordinary beings requires the active involvement of billions. Hence, the fragmentary nature is also an invitation to join in the discussion.

### **1. Questions for Alternatives** (March '99)

**T**he present is extremely painful, it has become unbearable. We manage to live day to day, in a constant struggle for survival that is only buoyed up by the hope that the next generation may see better days. Even as the havoc spreads. Even

as the present flounders.

How are we to live? For what kind of a future are we to strive, such that no future generation is forced to witness such a present.

Any worthwhile discussion on—and analysis of—questions for alternatives can take place only after we identify, and reject the pillars of the present, its bricks & mortar, its building blocks. It is in recognition of this reality that we are beginning a regular discussion here.

### **The Present: pillars, brick and mortar...**

Let us begin by broadly identifying the elements that make up our "present".

Factories are the concrete symbols of the present. Ever accelerating speed, increasing workload, mounting insecurity and escalating fear are the fundamental elements of progress and development. The increasing pollution of water, air and land are merely echoes of the spread of the factory system in every sphere of life.

The fortification of homes, offices, neighborhoods, cities and countries has progressed from grilled windows, doors, and fences, to gun toting guards, to ever present surveillance cameras to cannons and tanks, to satellite controlled missiles and nuclear weapons waiting to be triggered off to devastation. Even the sewage disposal and water supply necessities of big to bigger cities have increased to levels that demand extremely authoritarian regimes.

Broad and smooth roads, bridges, flyovers, red-yellow-green-lights, super thermal power houses, nuclear power plants, wires crisscrossing over thou-

sands of miles, a number of airplanes landing and taking off every minute...all require such specialisation that childhood is increasingly being squeezed, from first grade to kindergarten to lower kindergarten to nursery to pre-nursery. With the development of computers, progress has reached such levels that in order to cope students resort to a choice between medication, drugs or suicide.

Amidst the legacy of harshness and hierarchy in rural life, progress is being made in cruelty.

All experience teaches us that the process of identifying these building blocks of the present, of peeling off their layers to grasp their essence, is incomplete without discussions on prototypes of alternatives. To banish the present, visions of alternatives—and accompanying discussions—are indispensable.

### **2. Factories: the dance of destruction** (April '99)

The essence of human endeavor in humankind's interest has been to reduce human burdens, to lessen the tensions of body and soul, to gain a sense of security, and an overall better life.

Factories, on the other hand, have emerged and expanded guided by efforts aimed at increasing workloads at minimal costs, and getting work done at an accelerating pace. Therefore, factories are:

Wage-workers imprisoned within delineated spaces, security guards at the gates and the police and military outside them.



Drudgery under palpable fear of supervisors/managers/leaders/officers.

Lungs incarcerated in dust-chambers, smoke-chambers, chemical chambers, among gases, fibres, powders and microbes. Acids, electricity, furnaces... burning, scorching, shocking human bodies. Cancer labs of magnetic, electric and atomic radiation.

Centres of endlessly repetitive and tedious movements.

Torture houses where work worth 1000 bucks has to be performed for 50 bucks amidst fear of losing this slavery.

Places of such illumination that every night is awake with toil.

Spaces where body and soul are distorted, where shift work disrupts the cycles of food and sleep.

Non-living beings capable of infinite growth in size and numbers. Apparatuses of universal destruction polluting land-water-air, threatening existence.

### **3. Supervision-surveillance-regulation-control**

(May '99)

Walls-barbedwires-gates-guards-time offices-sirens-clocks-tokens-cardpunching are the apparent markings of the encirclements. They embody merely the external control, allowing entry in and barring escape from factories.

Within the factory control is efficiently organised into departments that monitor the prescribed quantity of production, the level of quality, speed, via concepts of discipline and disciplinary actions, incentives, increments, promotions.

Supervision, surveillance, control, and regulation are not the lot of factories alone. These operate and are dominant in every sphere of social life: give a report, finish the course, enter a file, sign a register, suffer audit and investigation...where are these not present?

Ever tightening coils of control—and the means of such control—are inherent in the present. And these means are becoming and are being made more sharp-edged, more wide-spread as this present becomes more hollow and less capable of standing on its own. Workers harnessed to tasks that require them to operate outside walled enclosures, beyond the sights of supervisors, are still bound to the enclosure by chains of pagers and cell-phones.

The powers of human sight being limited, and the reliability of suspicious eyes not enough, cameras and close-circuit TVs are being arranged at different places for round-the-clock surveillance and detection.

The web of computers and satellites spanned out for moment to moment monitoring of every nook and corner is being made more intricate and sophisticated.

Now and then the cry goes up that there is a lack of adequate supervision, surveillance, control, regulation, and it is because of this that problems abound. More strictness is declared to be the panacea. Whereas it is in the very presence of control that the problem lies. The concomitant expansion and sharpening of control is merely proof of the misanthropic nature of the present.

Attempts to eliminate supervision-surveillance-control-regulation are necessary points of departures for any alternatives.

### **4. Faster and faster—towards doom**

(June '99)

Speed, of course, is one of the fundamental canons of the present but it is also one of its soft spots. "Fast to faster" as the mantra for better life is losing its sheen, but lamentations about the necessity of speed for human survival—its sheer indispensability—are increasing.

While at workplaces the mirage of endless acceleration has engendered endless insecurity of life and of earning a living, on roads speed has created such killing fields that loss of limb and life is an ever present reality.

The limit is long past when the champions of discipline could mould bodies to match the required speeds. Even the use of medicines to drive bodies has reached a saturation point. Now scientists are blindly immersed in research that is geared to the very transformation of bodies, such that they could conform to the speed of computers, computerised machines and electronics.

Fast to faster speeds, by engendering obsessions of immediate gratification and extreme pleasures in life, are putting life itself at stake.

The race for speed, more speed, and still more speed has, of course, given

birth to those lethal pits of dust, smoke, gases, fibres, powders, microbes, chemicals, acids, electricity, heat, electromagnetic and atomic radiation, that are called factories. It is also propelling the whole world to a factory-like state, posing danger to life on earth itself.

The question of putting reins to this speed-acceleration-pace is, of course, important, but much more necessary is the task of thinking about its alternatives.

### **5. Cleaving apart "me" and my body: transformed into things/commodities**

(July '99)

Differences can be said to be superficial. Underneath the surface each person's "I" lies battered. This is the present. And we could only have come to this as the result of a process.

A few sprouts of antagonisms between "I" and "we" emerged five-six thousand years ago. Like a poisonous tree they spread between individual and society. The spread of antagonism between living labour and accumulated/dead labour has brought humanity to such a present. Accumulated/dead labour, dressed up as the property of companies and institutions, taking the whole of earth in its stranglehold: this is the present.

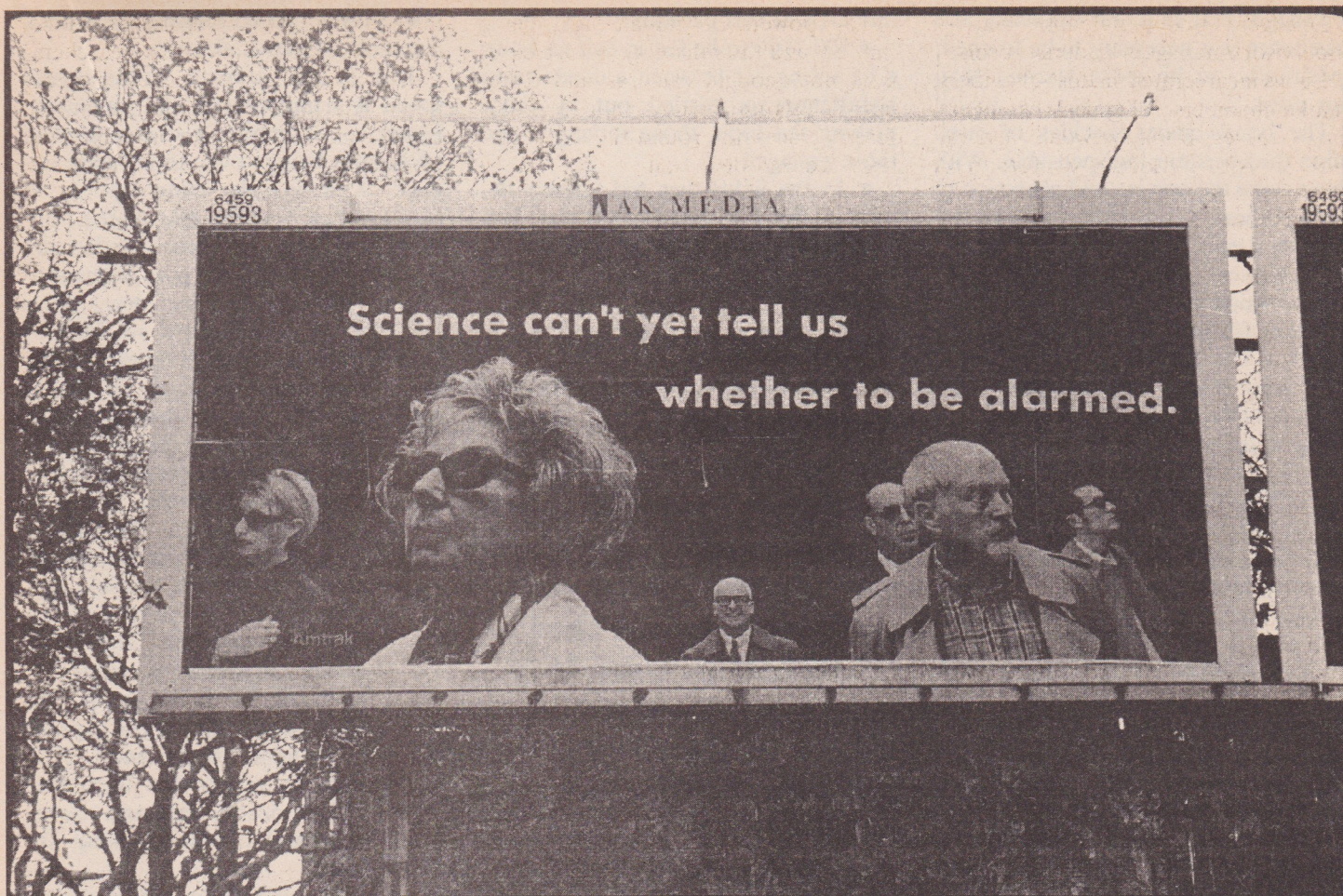
### **Work-work-work**

The meaning of the antagonism between dead labour (machines, knowledge, etc.) and living labour (people doing work) is: work, more work and yet more work. And, today this is at its zenith.

Your work could be to paste a perpetual smile in a reception room or to plough a piece of farmland, row after relentless row. Your work could be the projection of ceaseless charm or it could be operating computer-controlled machines day in and day out. Competing incessantly to be a champion or being harnessed everyday in the laboratory to invent a new each day; weaving cloth in every shift or repeating lessons in the class year after year; treating broken, lacerated, ill bodies or keeping shop with endless haggling over prices....

Work-work-work and the gnawing anxiety that work may cease! This is the





Altered billboard. Photo: Universal Aliens

present. It can be said that each body has become a commodity today. We all have become items to be sold and bought in the market. The price of each is assessed. Our price is determined by what we do, what are deemed capable of. In this context the difference between wage-workers and managers is merely that of the amount.

### **The body: useful cog/not so useful cog**

"Up to what capacity can this cog be used?"—this is the yardstick of looking at each other's bodies, this is the measuring rod of the present.

The perpetual process of cutting-polishing-moulding bodies towards higher utility as cogs has made life miserable for children, young men and women, and the elderly. Obviously, in such a present, interpersonal relations are extremely painful. But to come to grips with this infinite pain, it is necessary to consider "How do we look at our own bodies?"

### **Drive yourself: harder, still harder....**

Under the compulsions of the present—where each body's price must increase, each body must stay workable—the body is divorced from its "I". To torment its own body and mind has become the daily routine of each & every "I". Each "I" is seen to be ordering its own body to strain the limbs and stress the mind. If tea, coffee or alcohol cannot do the job take drugs! Don't fall sick if possible, but if you do, then take medicines that will make you fit for work in a jiffy—"rub Iodex and get to work". The body, subjected to these therapeutic assaults, becomes increasingly vulnerable. Dye hair for eternal youth, get plastic surgery to remove wrinkles, take tonics, use drugs. Work!

Medical insurance has allotted so much compensation for the loss of two fingers and so much for the loss of one eye. And what if you die of over-work? Don't worry, you will get compensation....

The "I" appears to stand apart and issue commands to the body. But the "I" itself is being battered and bruised. There are hordes queuing up to consult psychiatrists, and to meet saints, gurus, mahatmas, mediums, spiritualists, priests...For bringing the "I" closer to its body an end to the antagonistic relations between dead labour and living labour is indispensable. For alternatives it is necessary to think about those forms of accumulated labour with which living labour can exist in amity.

### **6. At night— it is dark no more** (November '99)

*Tamso ma jyotirgamaya*—let the light of knowledge drive away the darkness—is the mantra. From our childhood the worship of knowledge has thus been inculcated in us. "Knowledge is enlightenment." It has always been presented to us as anti darkness, veritable light. We are made to sing eulogies to scholars, to the wise and the learned. We



are taught that to attain eminence and excellence it is necessary to be learned; specifically, to be more learned than our peers.

The bonds-chains-shackles of discipline thus became indispensable. With these came the craving and obsession to outdo others. Competition and rivalry became a part of our temperament.

Soon it became obvious that specialisation in knowledge is a necessity for getting a job. And, a look at the "good" and desirable jobs made obvious the tasks that the knowledgeable are engaged in:

- Research on armaments and on strategies for war.
- Research on modes to keep humans in check for the maintenance of hierarchy.
- Investigation into the ways and means of increasing the amounts and speeds of work.
- To invent such tools-implements-machines that human beings can be yoked to more and more work, and the earth can be increasingly plundered.
- Inventing medicines and medical practices so that work is not hindered by the ill effects of increasing speed and load of work.
- And, such similar misanthropic, anti-nature tasks to maintain the present.

In spite of knowledge being put to such uses why does this infatuation with it persist? Why the passion for knowledge? Knowledge acquired and produced by us is worsening our lives. If we want a life in which nights are meant for sleeping, where calculations of seconds and minutes do not drive us, where the ambience is not that of one-upmanship, then it is necessary to discuss the questions of knowledge, what kind of knowledge, how much knowledge?

## **7. Accelerating speed, widening chasms**

(December 99)

Speed, faster speed, still more speed has compressed the world. Accelerating speed has condensed the earth to the size of a village. It is said that speed has brought the world into human grasp. But the chasms between human beings are ever-widening. How does

one explain this paradox?

• 500-1000 to be fed in half an hour: a balancing act between a dozen tasks simultaneously carried out by those making the food, those serving it and those eating it

• As the lights turn red, drivers decelerate from a speed of 60 to 0 in a flash, pedestrians cross within seconds

**In spite of knowledge being put to such uses why does this infatuation with it persist?...If we want a life in which nights are meant for sleeping, where calculations of seconds and minutes do not drive us, where the ambience is not that of one-upmanship, then it is necessary to discuss the questions of knowledge, what kind of knowledge, how much knowledge?**

• Hundreds getting off a train and hundreds embarking in a span of a minute or half a minute

• Class one-upper kg-lower kg-nursery-pre-nursery...annual exams-bi-annual exams-quarterly exams-monthly exams-weekly class tests...daily homework...tuitions

• High-tension electric lines...workers carving and ferrying coal miles in the womb of the earth...huge dams that make the earth quake...computer-controlled atomic plants

• Three to four crops in a year...well, electricity, canal, dam...chemical fertilisers, insecticides, weedkillers

• Vehicles to move mountains of produce and human hordes...wars for oil-oil-oil

• Each worker carrying out 20 bodily movements in 18 seconds on car manufacturing assembly lines

• Automation: one worker weaving cloth on 16 looms simultaneously

• Computer...computer...lines of workers with eyes on microscopes manufacturing computers...and workers who operate computers accounting for work done in each second

• Power press...forging hammer...chemical industry...plastic...

This is the schema within which speed is manufactured and processed. Faster speed implies a stricter control by human beings over their sense organs. A minuscule error leading to catastrophes, and the fear of the punishment apparatus, imposes harsher and harsher control over humans.

Severe control over one's sense organs does not lead to transcendence. It merely causes exhaustion to such an extent that the passive viewing of others playing-jumping-dancing-singing on the television becomes entertainment.

Urgent! At once! Immediately! Right now! Instantaneously! (faster, as soon as possible...)-thus, the heavy footed destructive omnipresent dance of speed. It demands perpetual alertness of body, mind and soul. Accelerating speed exploits body, mind, psyche and soul to such an extent that increasing lack of desire, time and energy widens the chasms among humans.

Keeping body and soul thus stretched, and the widening gulfs amongst human beings, are hardly worthy human aspirations. Accelerating speed and broadening chasms between humans being two sides of the same coin, it becomes necessary to discuss questions like how much speed? what kind of speed? speed for what?

## **8. Heights, and their vertiginous attraction** (January 2000)

Eulogies of excellence. Creating aspirations to reach the top. Encouraging an upward ascent: higher, topmost, more peaks to conquer.... All of this seems natural because it faithfully mirrors the ladder-like, pyramidal, hierarchical structure of our present. The present is, in fact, the supreme embodiment of such an arrangement.

Whereas, what seems far more natural are minor differences, wherein "A" happens to be marginally better at something while "B" is just a shade less or more capable at something else, and so on. These unimportant differences between persons and personalities lend



themselves to a panorama of multi-faceted interactions; they form the basis for relations of 'not as unequals' amongst humanity.

## Audience and Artists: Born of Pain

Hierarchical social systems engender meaningless, tedious, boring and harmful work, and too much of it. Consequently, a majority of humanity is forced into working. This takes place, as it is bound to, in an atmosphere of lies, deceit, misinformation, maneuvers, and force. There is no choice but to steal away from reality and dwell in an imaginary world, the world of entertainment where pathologies of adventure, excitement, or devotion are born. The audience/listener and the artist/ performer is born.

## Extremes of the ladder

Thus begins the process of converting minor natural human differences into ladder-like gaps of the order of ten-hundred-thousand-lakh. The painful process of stretching and restricting, that must push or pull people into slots, continues. Most people are bound by the shackles of food, clothing and shelter. The burden of work and lack of resources pushes them to the lowermost rungs of the ladder. These are the rungs that form a majority of the audience.

The greed of earning awards and honours inspires an ascent that makes stepping stones of other people. The rewards of competition and the fears of punishment in every conceivable sphere forces people to constantly mould and chisel themselves. After all a person can ensure his/her place in the pyramid only by making the difference between self and the rest of humanity as great as possible—increasing the difference of hundreds to thousands, and those of thousands to millions. The measure of a great or successful artist is the number of heads s/he has been able to climb over.



Collage: Jonathan Baker

## The inferior and the anti-human

Increasing sophistication in this process simply changes an increasing number of people into audience. They find themselves inferior in front of great artists. Feelings of inferiority discourage and demoralise. And what pleasure does the artist derive from all this anyway? The fundamentally anti-human pleasure of scrambling upwards over others!

The question for alternatives is not whether someone has reached up by talent, sincerity, hard work and honesty or by dishonesty, manipulation and stratagems. Instead, deliberations on the audience-artist dichotomy itself can be points of departure for alternatives.

Contact address:

Majdoor Library  
Autopin Jhuggi  
N.I.T. Faridabad - 121001  
India  
e-mail: [revelrytion@yahoo.com](mailto:revelrytion@yahoo.com)



## Have something to say? Write us!

We would like to encourage you to write us in order to continue this dialogue, whether you are sympathetic with or critical of anarchist theories and practices. All letters will be printed with the author's name, city and state or country only, unless it is specifically stated that her/his full address may be used, that only initials should be used, or that s/he wishes to remain completely anonymous. Writers are also invited to give email addresses.

If necessary, we will edit letters that are redundant, overly long, unreadable, excessively boring or contain death threats. (Ellipses in italicized brackets [...] indicate editorial omissions.) Limit length to three double-spaced, typewritten pages. Address your letters to C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446, USA; or by e-mail: [jmcquinn@mail.coin.org](mailto:jmcquinn@mail.coin.org)

## Revolutionary social experiment

Dear *Anarchy*,

I consider myself an individualist anarchist and an anarcho-syndicalist (I like to read Stirner, Rocker, Bakunin and Chomsky), and while I don't agree with many opinions expressed in your magazine (primitivism, anti-work, and anti-civilization), I find *Anarchy* to be an interesting read.

I don't know if you consider anarcho-syndicalism and anarcho-communism to be "anarcho-leftism" but I can definitely tell you that those two strands of anarchism are *not* dead or dying, and I know of hundreds, perhaps thousands of such anarchists on the Internet.

About Lucy Parsons: you condemned her for committing her son to a mental institution... according to Jon Bekken, this was in fact a last-ditch effort to prevent him from joining the military!

It's true that the Lucy Parsons Center Bookstore, now in Boston, Mass., carries some authoritarian leftist books—but they also have a great collection of anarchist books and they are one of the few places in the area where *Anarchy* magazine can be found.

I think Ed Stamm would be better off contributing his money to the kind of magazine he would like to see rather than trying to bribe you into changing your magazine's name.

Keep up the good work and please try to be a bit nicer to

anarcho-syndicalists in your pages. I hate work too, but it's the only way I'm able to send you this donation I have enclosed!

Jamal Hannah  
Cambridge, MA

## Jason responds: Lucy Parsons & *Anarchy*

The best intentions don't justify putting people in nut houses, where inmates are predictably abused and denied basic freedoms. The fact that Parsons had her son locked away until his death doesn't speak very highly for her adherence to any libertarian values. As I recall in bringing this up originally I was responding to a letter threatening to remove *Anarchy* from the Lucy Parsons Center Bookstore (based on the authors published in this magazine), a threat which has since been revealed as coming from someone in no position to implement it.

Even I don't agree with many opinions expressed in this magazine. It is a *magazine*, after all, a "periodical containing miscellaneous pieces" according to one common dictionary definition. Most readers, I hope are aware that not everyone who contributes to this magazine agrees with every other piece which appears. However, readers should also understand that there is a general editorial slant to this magazine which appears with the subscription offer accompanying each issue:

"We publish a journal of *desire armed*. Neither left nor right, we're just uncompromisingly anti-authoritarian. *Anarchy* refuses all ideolo-

gy. We criticize all religion, all spiritualism, all moralism, all political ideology. We refuse to bow before the altars of "God" or the nation-state. We spit on nationalism, militarism, racism and hierarchy. We don't want to leave anything out. *Nothing* is sacred, least of all *anarchism*. We want to create a genuinely different alternative vision—radically cooperative and communitarian, ecological and feminist, spontaneous and wild—a liberatory vision free from the constraints of our own human self-domestication."

Many *Anarchy* contributors criticize leftism for its anti-anarchist and its ideological tendencies. Anarcho-syndicalists and anarcho-communists are generally anarcho-leftists, though it should always be understood that this is not a label of condemnation. Rather, it always implies *criticism* of the anti-anarchist and ideological tendencies promoted. Undoubtedly, most *Anarchy* contributors have much in common with most anarcho-syndicalists and anarcho-communists, including varying appreciation for the occasionally libertarian contributions of the historical left (for example, some of the contributions of left-anarchists). However, most *Anarchy* contributors also have substantial criticisms of anarcho-leftism for its predominantly authoritarian direction and counter-revolutionary achievements. But unlike Murray Bookchin, most critics of leftism don't agree with or preach the idea that there is some sort of "unbridgeable chasm" between non-ideological anarchists and anarcho-leftists, just significant disagreements on tactics, strategy and often goals.

## Theme suggestions

Greetings, (un)leash here.

Have a couple ideas for themes for upcoming issues:

1. Science: Liberational Tool or Weapon of Orthodoxy? (I realize "science" is not a monolithic organization, but debate about this could be useful. We've debated technology; what about her sister, science? What's behind the truth-claims of science? Where does knowledge become authority? This could be expanded to a general discussion of an anarchist epistemology which attempts to weigh

truth-claims without reference to authorities...an important but very difficult task I might point out... Is anarchism dependent on "The Enlightenment"?)

2. Modern Drop Out Culture... à la "Gone to Croatan" but in the modern-day. There was an article in a recent *Earth First!* about a squatted ecovillage in a national park. This seemed suggestive, but perhaps it is not the only one. Additionally, is it possible that there are still some indigenous or creole communities who are very intelligent hiding out in the hills somewhere? This could be a place for good scholarship.

3. Madness & Anarchy. Relationship between "going crazy," "breaking down," and "breaking out." Radical ex-mental patients. "Reality" as an oppressive construct. Relationship between madness and revolution. Schizophrenia as a process, etc.

By the way, I liked the new "insurrectionist" flavor of the latest *Anarchy*...I would be interested in seeing more articles about the illegalists....

might be interesting to explore how Descendants of Colonists can overcome colonial imperialist attitudes, however subtle...in America (& Australia too) even dissenters are often inheritors of ruthless policies... might be interesting to invite Vine Deloria, Jr. to write an article, also would like to see more Ward Churchill stuff....

...as always, your work and your magazine are incredibly inspiring and thought-provoking...in addition, it was a pleasure to meet you at the Book Faire in San Francisco earlier this year.

Take care,

(un)leash

[Unleesh@aol.com](mailto:Unleesh@aol.com)

## GA to Tompsett

8th January 2000

Dear *AJODA*,

Since *AJODA*'s early-1990s debate about inter-generational sex, I understand you don't publish letters from "COINTELPRO-type operatives" (*AJODA* 40, p. 62). I'm not sure I agree, as it means passing up an opportunity to publicly iden-



tify them and their *modus operandi*, cautioning the movement they intend to manipulate.

And so to Fabian 'Fuckwit' Tompsett's gross disinformational response to John Filiss' interview with *Green Anarchist's* John Connor (*AJODA* 47, pp. 22-29). He should have learned after the trouncing he took when he last pulled such a stunt (*AJODA* 44, p. 78)! His intention this time is to divert time and energy from the debate following the publication of Larry O'Hara and Steve Booth's *At War With the Universe* (\$15 from BM Box 4769, London WC1N 3XX, UK) which exposes another State asset, Tim Hepple/ Matthews. If Fuckwit's concern was really John's interview, he'd have responded when it appeared over six months ago rather than now, immediately following *AWWU's* publication. It's no coincidence Hepple's partisan Andy Roberts supports State infiltration of his field, ufology, and has referred sympathetically to Fuckwit, his Neoist chum Stewart "Truth Is the Enemy" Home and their disinformation about Larry and GA. Despite this, I figure it's worth a short hour and \$1 in stamps to show Fuckwit's gone from the baseless smears of his last letter (*AJODA* 42, pp 78-79) to blatant lies now.

He claims Tony Wakeford's "apolitical" and Home "broke off all contact with Wakeford when he got involved with the music scene around the National Front." In *Green Apocalypse*, Home pretended he didn't know Wakeford at all, only admitting the opposite eight months later in May 1995 at the Wordbombz event when confronted with a eulogy he'd written for Wakeford's *Above Us the Sun*. Home's use of Evolian fascist metaphor in this shows neither he nor Wakeford were "apolitical." That Wakeford continues to put out tracks he first sung with neo-Nazi Death In June such as "Rose Cloud for the Holocaust" and the SS-glorifying "We Drive East" on his World Serpent label and Home still associates with him shows both they and Fuckwit are liars covering up their fas-

cist associations.

Falsely accusing GA of fascist associations is one way Home and Fuckwit seek to conceal their actual fascist associations. At Wordbombz, Fuckwit couldn't define fascism ("a matter for

tempting to assassinate fascist dictator Francisco Franco, Christie was less likely to have sympathies for such an ideology than Fuckwit, an apologist for Holocaust-denier Robert Faurisson. Fuckwit implicitly

Moving from Fuckwit's Saxon to ours, Saxon Wood, by claiming an association with him, isn't Fuckwit conceding he's "collaborating with a far-Right group like *Green Anarchist*" or, more sensibly, acknowledging the absurdity of his own methodology. Regardless, everything he says about Sax is a lie. The only contact Sax had with Fuckwit at the 1997 Anarchist Bookfair was when they challenged him and Home over Wakeford at their workshop launching *Anarchist Integralism*. The Neoists lied they had no association with Wakeford and were surprised to see Sax there at all as they hoped the Gandalf trial would be over and him jailed by then. At the February 1998 LGSC meeting, Fuckwit claimed Sax had apologised to him from prison and *did* say he hoped GA's three jailed editors "rot in jail." No doubt Fuckwit will pretend the word of all 20+ attending confirming this is a conspiracy against him—that they are all liars and he isn't—but he can save his breath as Larry O'Hara recorded his remarks before Fuckwit was unanimously ordered out of the meeting. As to the letter of apology, let him produce it. Fuckwit's claims he met Sax in Housmans bookshop and at the 1998 Anarchist Bookfair are also lies because Saxon was in court facing trial as a Gandalf defendant two days after the October 1997 Bookfair and wasn't even in UK a year later! As to the t-shirt, Fuckwit took it without permission from Paul Rogers during his Gandalf Defendants Campaign workshop at the 1998 Bookfair (lest Fuckwit present himself as an opponent of private property, see what happens when you make off with his grossly overpriced pamphlets under similar circumstances). Sax will no doubt write to *AJODA* too to confirm all this and can be contacted c/o GA.

Fuckwit only raises Noel Molland to pretend GA is "growing isolat[ed]." Paul Rogers was finally cleared only in January 1999, and so was a Gandalf defendant six months longer than Molland. He only

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Barry Pateman Tom Brooker

sociologists") despite accusing us of it for two years. Half a decade later, it's the same tune. If anything, his only method of labelling others as fascist is by association. Ridiculously, he claims GA are fascists because we're associated at three degrees of separation with Kurt Saxon but the Angry Brigade's Stewart Christie isn't despite only two degrees of separation (and presumably Fuckwit would claim he isn't either despite only one degree of association with Wakeford, &c). Our supposed association is only through Christie and the only basis for that is in our pointing out that as an anarchist jailed for at-

concedes this by not labelling Christie fascist. By labelling GA "far-Right," the Neoists can label all associated with us as "collaborating" regardless of their anarchist politics, precisely what they did with their absurd *Anarchist Integralism*. If our politics counts for anything, regarding Kurt Saxon, we don't "look forward to the die-off" (a point Home conceded in 1995 in admitting *Green & Brown Anarchist* was his hoax), as anarcho-primitivists, we reject anything "small-town, free-market, minimal state, white [or] protestant," and we don't seek to reconstruct Civilisation in our image as Saxon would either.



issued *Grassy Noel* (\$2 from BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX) after Molland's appeal was safely over despite this arrested development case trying to get him jailed for contempt of court before his imprisonment and repeatedly attacking him afterwards. We can believe Molland would communicate with Fuckwit on a "my enemy's enemy" principle and he certainly wrote to a magazine with a long history of association with Fuckwit, *Black Flag*, attempting to undermine the position of other defendants awaiting trial (*GA* 57/58, pp. 18-19, \$2 from PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440). It's untrue Paul's codefendant Robin Webb (ALF Press Office, BM 4400, London WC1N 3XX) wants nothing more to do with him or that *SchNews* (PO Box 2600, Brighton BN2 2DX) described *GA* as "rightwing idiots," as writing to them will confirm.

As to Fuckwit's attempts to deny collaboration with the security forces during Gandalf trials, I need only refer readers back to my interview (*AJODA* 47, pp. 22-29). Even now, Fuckwit links the Angry Brigade's Stewart Christie to *GA* and repeats his claims of association between us and the OK bombers whilst simultaneously denying it! His other denials are even less credible and where, as with the "personal information" point, they rest on whether Fuckwit's assessment is more credible than ours, readers need only look back over the record of blatant, proven lies down to Fuckwit and his reasons for telling them.

Those wishing to assess Fuckwit's claim that "Home has never so appeared [*ie.* featured committing credit card fraud in a national newspaper] and is not a Decadent Action activist" need only send us an SAE for the originating Observer profile. They can judge for themselves whether the short, shaven-headed "Mr H" in it is the short, shavenheaded Stewart Home in a domino mask. If they don't, Fuckwit still has to explain how a group he's so avidly promoted escapes prosecution for such blatant crimes without State contrivance. And if he claims not to know Decadent Action or Stewart Home, how can he say the person in the Observer picture *isn't* Home?

Finally, Fuckwit and his sidekick at the Autonomous Centre of Edinburgh (ACE), fellow Oxbridge old boy Micah ("Space Bunny") made much of Steve Booth's "Irrationalists" article as "agitating for the murder of ordinary members of the public" in an attempt to undermine support for defendants during the Gandalf prosecution. As Steve's "Irrationalists 7" (*GA* 57/58, pp. 15-17) makes clear, he saw irrationalism as undesirable but inevitable, only on the cards if all other avenues for resistance were closed. When Micah's chums at Spunk Press enthusiastically advocated such tactics in 1995—before "The Irrationalists" was even written—the Neoists made no criticism. They remained silent when the same people, as "Freedom 2000," advocated the mass poisoning of ordinary working class people celebrating

the millennium. Their first outburst was used as propaganda hostile to the same Anarchy in the UK festival Home's 25/10/94 *Independent* article was written to attack (*Sunday Times*, 5/3/95, p. 10), the start of the Neoists' smear campaign against *GA*. The second was used as one rationale for extending anti-terrorist legislation to include almost all extra-Parliamentary activity (*Sunday Post*, 7/11/99, p. 3), one goal of the Gandalf prosecution, as *AWWU* (pp. 14-28) makes clear. It's obvious these hypocrites and provocateurs only care about who speaks, not what's said, and that they're tolerated by a politically retarded milieu that thinks likewise. In part, this letter is intended to expose this and lead to their supercession.

Yours, for the destruction of  
Civilisation,

John Connor  
Oxford GA's  
BCM 1715  
London, WC1N 3XX  
U.K.

## Support Ted Kaczynski

Dear all,

It's now been two years since Ted Kaczynski was sentenced to multiple life terms for the 1978-95 anti-tech Unabombing campaign, following a farcical trial in Sacramento. Ted's currently appealing this conviction.

After the trial, Ted was sent to the notorious Florence supermax, Colorado, where he's been denied visits from everyone except journalists, who he generally doesn't want to talk to.

Ted's main contact with the outside world has been by mail, publishers Context Books covering postage costs. Now Ted's rebuttal to smears against him by his family and the media, *Truth vs. Lies*, is not being published, he is no longer receiving this mail money.

The Friends of Ted Kaczynski has been formed to cover Ted's mailing costs. A donation of just 30¢ will pay for a letter out, so please support this anarchist political prisoner! Send your donations—preferably well-hidden cash dollars—to POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97402, USA, or BCM 1715, London, WC1N 3XX, UK, clearly marked "Friends of Ted Kaczynski" (cheques payable to "John Zerzan").

Yours, for the destruction of  
Civilisation,

George Woodsel  
Friends of Ted Kaczynski  
BCM 1715  
London, WC1N 3XX  
U.K.

## Substitute teaching revisited

Dear editor:

I am writing in response to a letter printed in *Anarchy* issue #48 about substitute teaching. I hope to offer another perspective so that readers contemplating on making the career switch may be a little more prepared for what they're getting into.

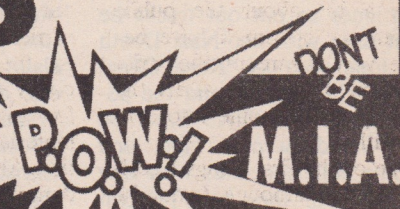
I have been subbing for middle and high schools for almost a year, and when I first started, I thought much the same way that J.T., the letter's author, does. I wanted to give young

# INFORMATION IS BLISS



## TED KACZYNSKI

UNAPACK POB 120494 BOSTON MA 02112





# Mother Nature running for President.



Consequently, rather than seeing a room full of "eager minds...looking for context for their anti-authoritarianism," you'd be more likely to encounter a room full of young people trying to get away with doing nothing at all. And why should they try, when they've never seen you before and may never see you again?

I continue to learn a lot about society and human interaction by subbing, and I hope that at least some of the students have learned something from me. I would recommend subbing to people who want to work with young people and want to start by glimpsing first-hand the system they dwell in. However, for anyone who is serious about working with young people in radical politics or critical thinking, I suggest finding a route in which you have more of a long-term relationship with the same young people, and preferably (if not imperatively) out of the clutches of the administration. I don't quite know what that is yet (or I might be doing it myself), but I think it's worth considering before you jump into the education-mills.

Sincerely,  
K.S.  
Oakland, CA

Mr. fish

## Censorious leftists

Dear Jason:

Iain from Glasgow denies that a *Green Anarchist* speaking tour was "canceled"; it was, he says, "postponed." An event which is "postponed" and not rescheduled is canceled. By Iain's own admission, Micah wanted the tour canceled and canceled it was, call it what you will. If these people had concerns about particular GA texts, that's a reason *not* to cancel a meeting with the publishers.

Steve Booth's article "The

people a break from the authoritarian grind and possibly introduce them to radical ideas, or at least foster discussions on injustice and/or social change. Although I have had some inspiring moments and learned quite a bit about the public educational system, I have become very aware of the strict limits on how I can affect the young people I come into contact with.

One of the first things I realized is that although I may be an anti-authoritarian, the stu-

dents and I are *both* confined in an authoritarian framework. I would have to disagree with J.T. that substitutes have "no boss." The administrators at the schools where I teach are very much my bosses. Although I am not responsible for a particular curriculum, I can be reprimanded for not following school policy or fired from a district for discussing "inappropriate" material, including radical politics. All it can take is one student mentioning at the dinner table how their sub was talking

about anarchism for a parent's phone call to the principal to result in my dismissal. Although my work schedule is flexible, I'd disagree with J.T. again by arguing against "complete flexibility."

The other main reality check for me was noticing how few students were interested in critical thinking, especially when proposed by a complete stranger, the substitute teacher. The love of learning present in pre-schoolers is usually killed by the time they reach middle school.



Irrationalists" didn't celebrate the terrorism of despair, he just predicted more of it and speculated on how this would affect the context of revolutionary activity. Confusing "is" and "ought" is perhaps the most widespread intellectual infirmity among anarcho-leftists. And even if Ted Kaczynski is not an anarchist (I think his manifesto is inconsistent on this score), that doesn't mean that *Green Anarchist* isn't an anarchist project—obviously it is. Censorious leftists like Iain just can't seem to understand that a text might be significant to anarchists even if the author is not an anarchist or its perspective explicitly or consistently anarchist. That's where critique comes in. The Unabomber Manifesto is important for anarchists, if only because its author identifies himself as an anarchist and it has probably been read by many people with no prior exposure to anarchism.

Recently, the *Fifth Estate* published an article arguing that the state is of extraterrestrial origin. The staffers didn't believe it, any more than anyone at *GA* believes it's good to massacre Japanese commuters, but they thought it offered a dramatic metaphor for how alien is the state to human nature. Micah and his leftist friends would not, I'm sure, ban *FE* for publishing one idiotic article. Nor would they I'm sure, deny a forum to Noam Chomsky or Murray Bookchin whose affirmations of "political power" are unequivocal—not because they're better anarchists than *GA* or even Kaczynski, but because they offend no one (except real anarchists). Cowardice, not conviction, best explains why the likes of Micah and Iain concoct pretexts for marginalizing *GA*.

Iain failed to notice that his parting shot against anarcho-primitivism hit him right in the foot. If (he asks—can it be he really doesn't know?) anarchism has only existed in primitive so-

cieties, what's to stop the state from again emerging from primitive society? A few possible answers: (1) knowing what happened last time, we might act consciously to prevent a recurrence, (2) humans enjoyed a million years of anarchy prior to a few thousand years of statism, so we might again enjoy a long run, and (3) this argument tells against anarchism itself, as there is no guarantee that any kind of anarchism will never evolve into statism—in Spain, it happened in a matter of days! Obviously Micah (Dolly I), Iain (Dolly II) and their fellow sheep have been too concerned to keep anarchism respectable to learn of or think through the anarchist implications of primitivism. That *GA* visit was an opportunity for enlightenment which they threw away.

Bob Black  
POB 3142  
Albany, NY 12203-0142

## Home lies, not neoist lies

In issue 48, under the heading of "Double Standard," A. Ridley is credited with writing "Freedom printed Neoist lies against *GA*" (*Green Anarchist*). For the record here, any "Neoist lies" referred to are probably things written by Stewart Home & possibly a few of his cohorts & DO NOT REPRESENT ANY SORT OF

i!Neoasm?! that has much to do with the rest of us i!Neoasts?!

Stewart has made a career out of milking neoism in print. Unfortunately, the world of intellectuals seems to often "privilege" text as some sort of "reality" external to itself &, therefore, lacks the wisdom to read between Stewart's lines enough to recognize the shallowness of his motives. If Stewart slams a person or a group under the guise of "neoist theory" or some-such, it's more likely just the pursuit of some petty vindictiveness.

There are plenty of i!Neoasts?! busy with plenty of things. Most of us are no longer friends with Stewart. Chances are, we'd be just as likely to be friends with the *GA* people (who I don't personally know). Stewart doesn't represent all i!Neoasts?! any more than any 1 anarchist represents ALL anarchists.

Forget Stewart Home, forget Oliver Marchart (Austrian art-world hack author of *Neois-mus*), forget the published books about neoism. They're all irrelevant art-world careerism. Instead, check out these web-sites:

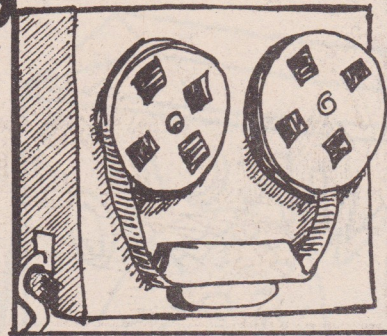
<http://www.neoism.org/> & <http://nag.ljudmila.org/neoism/> or, better yet, participate in the i!Neoast?! festival being planned for Adelaide in Australia at the end of March in the

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year ZERO. If you want to read a specific, relevant critique, check out "History Begins Where Life Ends" @:

[http://www.neoism.org/squares/tent\\_history\\_begins.html](http://www.neoism.org/squares/tent_history_begins.html)

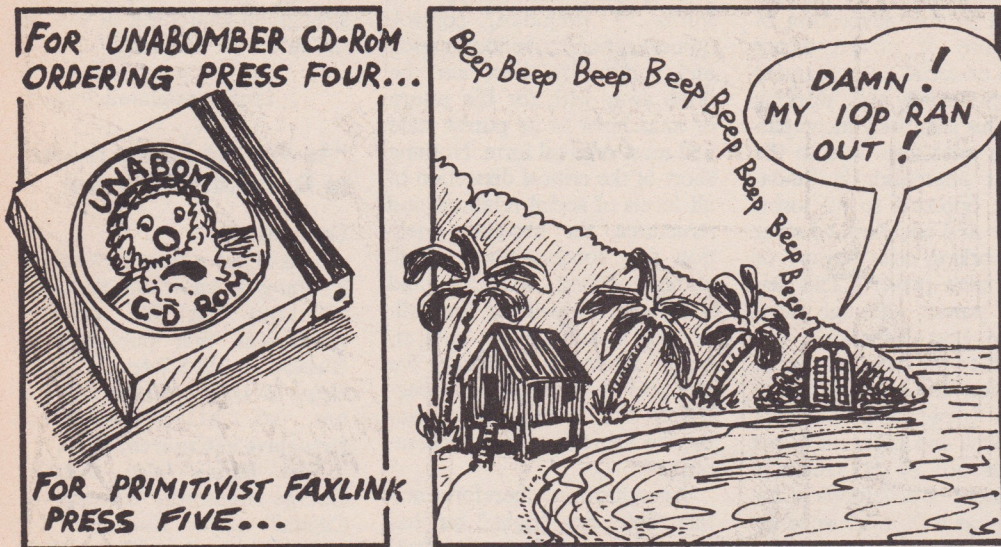
& remember, Work will make you Free Trade,

tENTATIVELY,  
a cONVENIENCE  
streetRAT'sBurgh, NuS@

## Neither left nor right

The very instant when artificial notions of "authority" and "power" were first imposed upon humanity, anarchism was immediately conceptually established as a force to counter it and fight for freedom and autonomy. To know something one must know it's opposite, therefore the moment authority was established anarchism was known as well, and will remain a conceptual universal constant until the concepts of authority and power are abolished. Since anarchism is such a basic force, all humans can and do know anarchism on some level, and writing and language are irrelevant towards the understanding and growth of anarchism. Because of this basic pre-language understanding of anarchism, it goes without saying that anarchism is by no means constrained to merely theoretical and philosophical systems, that





Comic by Steve (c/o Green Anarchist, BM 1715, London WC1N 3XX, U.K.)

indeed anarchism is a natural human instinct to rebel against restrictions and demand personal freedom. Anarchism is this instinct of rebellion to authority, this primal understanding of the corruption of power, to conceptualize it any other way is to blind yourself to its foundations and its true purpose.

As language has come about, evolved and developed, various philosophies and theoretical concepts have arisen to attempt to take hold of and claim the basic anarchist impulse as its own. Humanity has repeatedly been tricked and deluded into believing that the escape from and abolition of authority and power lay in various spiritual paths, political ideologies and economic arrangements. The amount of delusion and confusion has been of varying degrees to particular people and particular times, with the least deluded clearly recognizing the inherent authority and power existing within state and economic structures, religious and ideological beliefs as well as within the oppressive everyday inter-actions of people with each other in the forms of racism, sexism, ageism, etc. However, even the least deluded have in turn advocated and fought for ideological systems, albeit radical, and new structures of authority and power, albeit subliminal. It is within the instances of these critiques

of authoritarian structures and social relations, and especially within the proposals for new alternatives, that leftism was able to aptly mutate itself into various forms which would endear itself to those who consciously attempted to recognize and abolish the realities of authority and power.

Leftism is by its very nature an ideology, and one which centers on the inherent corruption of economic authority and power of capitalism in particular. Because of this inherently narrow focus of leftism, both due to ideological constraints and its economic-centrism, leftism can not help but be authoritarian and power-centered and have lust for dominance and control be its result. One can not use ideology as a tool and expect anarchistic results, since ideology strives for permanence and uniformity of understanding. Even the ideologue who considers himself to be free-thinking and open-minded must always fall back on his preferred ideology when challenged or in doubt.

One also can not focus on merely one particular aspect of authority and power within society as well, because the inter-connected nature of society leads to each structure and relation of authority to support the other. Therefore if one form of authority and power is

abolished, other forms of authority will immediately step in to assume the authority position that the previously existing form once held, as well as continue with their previously held positions within society. The removal of merely one form of authority creates a social vacuum, which is the catalyst for the multiplying of other forms of authority to fill the missing space. This aspect of authority and power is not merely obvious within social reality itself, but also within the idealized society envisioned and advocated by such ideologies of change. To use the leftist goals of the abolition of capitalism and imperialism, examples of this would be the increased racism and nationalism within National Liberation struggles, the increased religious bigotry and intolerance by Islamic and Christian Fundamentalist groups, and the increased State power of the Marxist-Leninists.

Leftism as it exists within anarchism is a far more subtle and amorphous breed, and is thereby more insidious. While anarcho-leftism does indeed claim to be opposed to all forms of authority and power, its inherent connections with and advocacy of various forms of authority and power are there, albeit either hidden or unrecognized. First off, there are the obvious faults that

anarcho-leftism is an ideology which limits and distorts one's perception and understanding off-hand. Next there is the fact that anarcho-leftism is primarily focused with economics and capitalism in particular, rather than focusing on the omnipresence and multiplicity of authoritarian power relationships within society. Because of the strict attention paid to the narrow realm of economic relations, anarcho-leftism leaves the door open for other forms of authority and power to manifest themselves, however because of their proclamation and semi-adherence to anarchism, such violations must be done secretly through the use of rhetoric and unchallenged authoritarian assumptions which are undetectable to the thoroughly committed ideologue.

Although the various ideologies of anarcho-leftism share many attributes and qualities in common, each particular anarcho-leftist ideology uses its own unique manifestations of institutions and relations of authority and power. Specific examples are therefore required to illustrate the inherent authoritarianism within the various anarcho-leftist ideologies:

Mutualism, as espoused by Pierre Joseph Proudhon, is the anarcho-leftist ideology which has clearly not completely broken away from capitalism and the capitalist mentality. Mutualism accepts and encourages markets, money, competition, businesses and property (although not all forms of property), and thereby accepts and encourages the subsequent alienation, inequality, strife and domination which results. Because of these economic structures that Mutualism supports, it thereby follows that a State or State-like structure would be required to "protect" property rights, "fair trade" and defend against monopolization, if nothing else.

Collectivism, as espoused by Mikhail Bakunin, blatantly accepts the "need" to maintain a coercive force to ensure that the people will continue to "work for a living" and ensure that individuals do not receive their required necessities with-



out contributing their "fair share" of labor.

Communism, as espoused by Peter Kropotkin and Alexander Berkman, is to me the most reasonable of the anarcho-leftist ideologies. However, anarcho-communism does leave the door open for the repression and domination of widespread conformity and social pressure, "tyranny of the majority" so to speak. Another fault of anarcho-communism is that it generally tends to fall prey to political revolutionism, which I will discuss later.

Syndicalism, as espoused by the CNT, the IWW and the IWA, basically maintains the political framework of representative democracy and merely paints an illusion of participatory direct democracy above it. Syndicalism also leaves the current structures of industrial production and distribution totally unquestioned, and tacitly assumes that the "work world" will continue as normal after an anarchist revolution.

Social Ecology/Libertarian Municipalism, as espoused by Murray Bookchin and Janet Biehl, is merely the reduction of the size and scale of the nation-state to the size and scale of the city-state, with the city-state apparently being run along the lines of a direct, participatory democracy. Although the scale is reduced and the democracy is in place, the coercion of a state power still exists, therefore authority still maintains its reign.

A common theme and tactic

to many of these anarcho-leftist ideologies is that of revolutionism, that is, the advocacy of the seizure of power, either political or social, by a segment of society, usually the "working class." This is entirely incompatible with anarchism due to the fact that anarchism is fundamentally opposed to all forms of power and coercion, whether it be "working class power" or "the people's power." This seizure of power, although done with the best intentions, can only lead to the continuation of domination and control, but in radically new and different forms. New and different forms of power are by no means a new concept or development for humanity as well, because since the very beginning of authority and power it has been evolving and adapting itself in order to maintain its position and expand.

Since leftism is still rampant within anarchism, and anarcho-leftist ideologies hold strong sway within the anarchist movement, what exists beyond anarcho-leftism and what hope is there to throw off these shackles which have been restraining the anarchist movement for so long? The answer is both easy and apparent, it is the return of anarchism back to its basics, namely—the abolition of authority and power in any and all forms and structures through which it may manifest itself. This entails not only the complete abolition of any and all governments, capitalism, and religion, but also the complete

abolition of all forms of coercion, property and ideology. All forms of prejudice, control, domestication, indoctrination and conformity must also be done away with for the return of anarchism to its purest state and most original form. Nothing short of the critical dissection of all forms of social relations and structures, the absolute rejection and condemnation of all authority-based relations and structures, as well as the full-fledged assault on the authoritarian totality is necessary for this goal of the conscious recognition and emergence of authentic anarchism to be accomplished.

Anarchism is therefore neither "left" nor "right," but has always rejected the entire "political spectrum" as being nothing but authority and power, domination and control, in different forms and disguises. To obtain such a detached and counter-position to "acceptable" thought and established society, it is necessary to look beyond all preconceptions about humanity and human nature and presumptions about what is "necessary" to maintain and operate a society that is open and free as well as an individual that is independent and autonomous. All traditions and "common sense" about social and individual "necessities," whether they are inside the anarchist movement or outside, need to be discredited and left behind. As a result, a return to the fundamental instinct of anarchist rebellion and free and

autonomous living will be hastened, which will in turn strengthen anarchism as well as the future of humanity.

(I)An-ok  
ianmayes@mailcity.com

## "As We See It" on the net in Russian translation

Dear Jason,

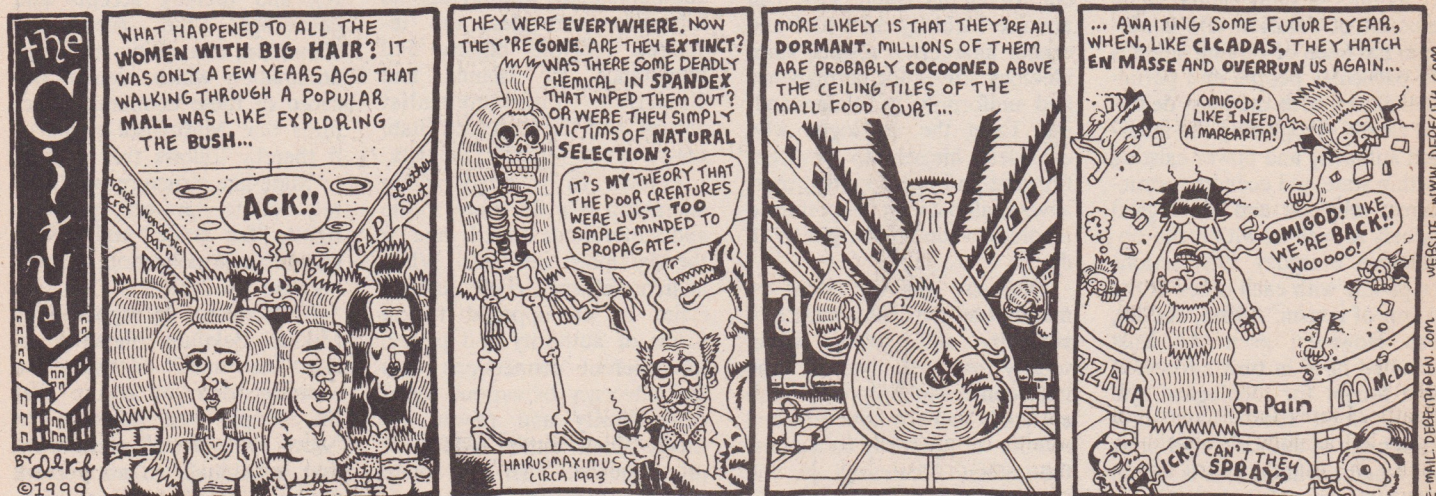
This is just a short message to let you guys know that the CAL manifesto "As We see It," which was first published in Russian in 1995 (*Aspirin Won't Help*) is now available on the net at: <http://anarchive.virtualave.net/anarchy.htm>

The library also features George Bradford's "Triumph of Capital" (*Fifth Estate*, 1993), which is at: <http://anarchive.virtualave.net/capital.htm>

Anarchive is a Russian language online anarchist library (short English description at: <http://anarchive.virtualave.net/english.htm>).

Some other texts previously published in *Anarchy* magazine will soon be available at Midnight of the Century website (address yet unknown), which is a Russian-language collection of situationist and post-situ texts, as well as a website for the *Aspirin Won't Help* zine which is about to resume publication. Bob Black's *Abolition of Work* will also be featured there.

Anarchist greetings,  
Mikhail Tsovma  
Moscow, Russia  
[koalabear@glasnet.ru](mailto:koalabear@glasnet.ru)  
[m\\_bakounine@mail.ru](mailto:m_bakounine@mail.ru)





## New Peirats edition

Dear friends:

Would you be so kind as to circulate the following memo as widely as possible. Many thanks.

The Meltzer Press intends publishing later this summer, September at the latest, a completely revised, updated and annotated library edition of Jose Peirats' seminal work on the Spanish Revolution and Civil War—*La CNT en la revolucion espanola*. The editing has been done by Dr. Chris Ealham of Cardiff University (with the support of Peirats' companion Gracia Ventura), and he has brought what was undoubtedly the definitive source book on the anarchist movement in Spain and the Civil War, right up-to-date with the latest academic research as well as providing us with his own valuable insights into the subject.

To help finance the printing and binding of this title we are looking for sponsors, donations and even individual advance orders for the book.

*The CNT in the Spanish Revolution* by Jose Peirats (translated by Paul Sharkey) Revised, edited and annotated by Dr. Chris Ealham of Cardiff University.

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## Reprehensible left

Jason,

Just got the new *Anarchy*—Thanks! I look forward to reading the entire issue tonight. Given the reprehensible behavior of the "left" leadership post-Seattle, I think the discussion of "post-left anarchy" is absolutely vital. The establishment left in town has been remarkably harsh towards the "anarchists" with

public denunciations and calls for their arrest. Mike Dolan of Public Citizen even harassed a local anarchist for simply attending a labor press conference. Given all that has happened since Seattle, the next issue of *Anarchy* should have a wealth of material and plenty more to discuss! Me, I'll applaud anyone who decides to smash the windows at the Sierra

Club or Public Citizen in DC. Assholes.

Tom Trouble  
Arlington, VA

## GA not Leninist

Dear *AJODA*,

"Iain of Glasgow" claims GA are "Leninists" ("Not sheep," *AJODA* 48, pp. 76-79), knowing GA are anti-ideological and

anti-elitist ("Interview with John Conner" [sic], *AJODA* 47, pp. 22-29). He claims we're FC's "active, determined minority" (*AJODA* 48, p. 78), knowing GA rejects FC's "elitist attitudes to consciousness-raising" (*AJODA* 47, p. 26) and has a "post-ideological 'movements of refusal and resistance'" revolutionary model ("Freedom = Censorship," *GA* 54-55, p. 17) familiar

## Announcing ... Montreal's first ever ... — Anarchist Book and Freedom Fair —



Saturday, May 6th, 2000  
10am to 6pm  
1710 Beaudry  
(between Ontario and Ste-Catherine)  
metro Beaudry  
Montreal, Quebec  
CANADUH

This is an open invitation to Montreal's first Anarchist Book and Freedom Fair. Modeled on other anarchist bookfairs in London, San Francisco and Boston, Montreal's event—which will be in English and French—will take place on May 6th, the first weekend after May Day.

The books and magazines are just one part of the event. The day will be filled with workshops, videos, speakers, debates, readings and more. There will be an "Anarchist Museum" displaying archival materials—old publications, posters, letters, etc.—of Quebec's anarchist past. We're inviting local and regional radical and anti-authoritarian groups to set up tables and facilitate discussions and workshops. There will be also be poetry, paintings, music and food. The bookfair is a child-friendly event.

Ideally, the Book and Freedom Fair will be the culmination of a week-long festival of radical events beginning with May 1st, and organized by several local collectives. We're still confirming speakers, workshops and presenters for the bookfair, and an in-depth schedule of events will be available by April. To get this schedule, please contact us by phone, e-mail or post.

If you are a distributor, bookseller, publisher, zinester, artist, author, poet, musician, activist or just plain curious—get in touch soon about how to get involved. Of course, feel free to just show up on May 6th and enjoy the event. See you in May.

Montreal Anarchist Book and Freedom Fair

2035, boulevard St-Laurent, 2nd floor

Montreal, Quebec

H2X 2T3 CANADUH

tel: 514-526-8946, 514-844-1498 or 514-769-9059

e-mail: [lombrenoire@tao.ca](mailto:lombrenoire@tao.ca)



## Letters

to *AJODA* readers. The Scottish Anarchist Network (SAN) know minorities make revolutions or wouldn't waste time leafleting claimants about welfare reforms ("JSA - So What?" *GA* 45-46, p.27), though this ritualistic political practice is far more patronising, manipulative and futile than any "Iain" accuses *GA* of. If SAN genuinely believed in "individual and working class self-liberation" (*AJODA* 48, p. 76), they'd appreciate the most oppressed *know* what's oppressing them as it's immediately obvious in the logic of their own lives, and so they also best know how to resist it. By liberating themselves from the overarching infrastructures of Leviathanic production and control, they'll give the rest of us the opportunity to live autonomous, authentic lives too. Primitive societies show we all lived this way once—and can again, something "Iain" doesn't deny. Boringly, he asks how Leviathanic structures first rooted themselves—a question answered many times—but faced with discussion about dismantling them, "Iain" is terrified, saying resistance has to be approved by "the majority" (which, as we'll see, probably just means himself and other SAN types) rather than being a decision outside his control, for particular oppressed people in their own immediate situations, activity he libels as "terrorism against the general public" (*AJODA* 48, p. 76). Through this concern with legitimacy and representation—concepts at variance with both autonomy and authenticity, about

concentrating/transferring power rather than destroying it—he falls into the typically Leftist role as "revolutionary policeman" and retardant.

We see this illustrated by SAN's reaction to Gandalf prisoner Steve Booth's "Irrationalists" article (*GA* 51, pp. 11-12), which discussed unmediated resistance under conditions of extreme repression. Steve's discussion was tentative and his opinion was no more *GA*'s than *GA*'s was the London Gandalf Support Campaign's (opposing ideology, we have no common "line"), but SAN pulled a speaking tour they'd planned for LGSC without any understanding of the issues, any distinction between the different viewpoints mentioned above, or any attempt to contact anyone to clarify issues. "Iain's" tone is still hysterical two years later—"Stating that murdering innocent people was the 'right idea' suggests a deeply authoritarian position and one in direct opposition of the goals of anarchism" (*AJODA* 48, p. 76)—when even other Neoist-tainted workerists like SAN's chums at *Black Flag* can acknowledge propagandists of the deed like Ravachol and Émile Henry as anarchists, however "desperate" ("Dancing With the Devil," *Black Flag* 217, p. 34). His claim the tour was only "postponed" (*AJODA* 48, p. 76) is common currency amongst SAN but, in context, that can't mean anything except a more politic version of "canceled." Neoist cultist Micah/Space Bunny at the Autonomous Centre of Edinburgh (ACE) said that if

the tour went ahead, he'd withdraw from ACE. As half of ACE is his computer (the other half's a claimants union), they knuckled under just as long as he continued to allow them access to it. Faced with *GA*'s "Open Letter to ACE" (*GA* 52, p. 12), Micah typed up a contradictory reply in ACE's name, concluding that they "completely reject[ed] the accusations made against Space Bunny." The "accusation" was that "when it comes to Home, the lad has a cult-like devotion that would shame most Moonies"—something borne out by the only document of a score on ACE/Space Bunny's website not being a Neoist smear against *GA* being the ACE statement itself. When we pointed this out in a two-page rebuttal of these ludicrous and obvious smears, ACE (Micah?) just responded they were "too busy with other things" to consider this—just as they scrapped the original speaking tour on Micah's unsupported say-so ("False Flag - Again," *GA* 57-58, pp. 18-19). Given all this and ACE's prominence in SAN, "Iain" can't be serious if he thinks the tour would ever have gone ahead against Micah's wishes.

"Iain" appears to be as much a sucker as the rest of SAN when it comes to swallowing Neoist BS. He repeats *Black Flag*'s libel that *GA* "prefer 'mass starvation' to 'mass society'" (*AJODA* 48, p. 78), even though *Black Flag* never offered a jot of proof for this when challenged ("Liar, Liar," *GA* 56, p. 18) and it now seems most likely to have been an invention

by another staunch chum of Neoist Fabian "Fuckwit" Tompsett, Carol Saunders, a former London Anarchist Forum attendee who can't even keep her stories straight from person to person. This was obviously an attempt to paint *GA* as crude Malthusians in a Formanista mould, but *Black Flag*'s attempt to throw this smear was so politically illiterate that *they* came across as the Malthusians ("False Flag," *GA* 54-55, pp. 12-13)! Accepting all anthropological evidence that mass societies have to be hierarchically organised and that in turn means hierarchical distribution of food (whatever its natural abundance), mass society *causes* mass starvation. One question can't be resolved without the other—or is "Iain" going to be upfront in his apologism for mass/hierarchy at last?

We've seen how "Iain" plays fast and loose with the truth, retailing BS that's adequate for confirming unfounded and unchallenged prejudices within SAN but not equal to withstanding open debate. Perhaps that's why they canceled LGSC's free speech tour—to avoid the challenge of outside opinion. Is "Iain" really Ian Heavens, Micah/Space Bunny's Spunk Press collaborator at ACE? If so, he's far from being "working class." He's a Cambridge graduate and ex-psychogeographer like Micah, a computer programmer with a lawyer wife and a £90,000 house near the fashionable New Town area of Edinburgh ("Anarchists use computer highway for subver-

# IS SOFTWARE YOUR SUPERVISOR?



**TED KACZYNSKI**

UNAPACK POB 120494 BOSTON MA 02112

**POW!**

**DON'T BE M.I.A.**





sion," *Sunday Times*, 5/3/95, p. 10). In the name of the free speech denied the Gandalf defendants, he's happily advertised bomb manuals &c through Spunk Press, just as Micah continues to carry the Unabomber's Manifesto there, despite his claim FC are "fascist" Their computer-pseud chum Heather Bell was behind Freedom 2000, which called for the mass poisoning of Millennium Eve parties ("Anarchist flees as Scots group probed," *Sunday Post*, 14/11/99, p. 8). If "Iain" wants to deny he's really Ian Heaven, he still has to explain why ACE and SAN don't disassociate themselves from Micah,

Heaven, Bell &c for urging "terrorism against the general public" (*AJODA* 48, p. 76) with the same fervor they did the jailed Gandalf defendants. They have more reason to—Bell's stunt was timed to coincide with the Anti-Terror Bill being rammed through Parliament ("Journowatch," *GA* 59, pp. 12-13) and we know Neoism in UK as a proxy of the security forces (*AJODA* 47, pp. 24-25)—but, then, they pay due lip service to SAN's dumb workerist dogma and how else could SAN continue to electronically "educate the masses"? If any further proof were needed that SAN is more "Leninist" (by which "Iain"

presumably means an elitist ideologue "gang" in the Camattian sense) than *GA* will ever be, it's the ease with which their sectarian prejudices were manipulated by fascists and spooks to anathematise and stifle the free speech of anti-fascists and anti-Statists facing an attack by the security forces that could then have criminalised the extra-Parliamentary movement as a whole.

Yours, for the destruction of Civilisation,

John Connor  
Oxford GA's  
BCM 1715  
London, WC1N 3XX  
UK

### Any anarchist film lists?

Dear Folks,

We appreciate the effort that goes into writing and putting out *Anarchy* magazine. We found Lawrence Jarach's article "Don't let the left(overs) ruin your Appetite" well written and lucid. It was particularly helpful within the context of a study group we have put together on the Spanish Civil War....

We read a review of the new book *Film and the Anarchist Imagination* in the *New York Times Book Review* and were tempted to buy it, but the review in *Anarchy* has changed our minds. There is little use



for the scholarly discussion that appears to make up much of the book. What we are really looking for is any sort of list of films which have anarchism as themes—can any of you help us out? Any sort of list would be appreciated.

Yours,  
Cyndi Swick  
& Kurt Deffinbaugh  
Frostburg, MD

## Lawrence Jarach replies:

Thanks for your kind comments.

I'd like to take this opportunity to correct some mistakes that appeared in the article. The end date of the First International was actually 1876, and not 1872 as was erroneously printed. Although much of the life was taken out of it when the move to New York was contrived, the organization existed—at least on paper—for another four years.

It was during the third conference of the Third International (Comintern) in 1921 (not in 1919), coinciding with the first meeting of the Red International of Trade Unions that the Russian anarchists in prison went on hunger strike and were then deported.

## Uninformed treatment

To The Editor:

It's a bit ironic that Lawrence Jarach makes a big fuss over a minor typo in my book, *Film and the Anarchist Imagination*, (a slip included in a footnote no less), while he makes a few equally minor, if not insignificant, blunders in the course of a very brief review. *Cineaste*, for example, is not a "magazine of film criticism and theory"—(it has never published theoretical articles during a thirty-three year run). And I am not a proponent of the "highly intellectual *Cahiers du Cinema* folks from France." During my discussion of Comolli's *La Cecilia*, I make it clear that I don't particularly revere that journal, especially the brand of Althusserian Marxism it espoused during the Seventies.

Yet Jarach himself seems to be aware of the trivial nature of

this error (a misquotation of a Bob Black passage), and uses it to berate me for my supposedly orthodox "leftism." (The fact that Verso is my publisher makes me guilty by association.) Although I'll let others assess my political stance, it's nevertheless quite surprising that Jarach's own perspective is surprisingly conservative. In a populist (or perhaps faux-populist) maneuver that isn't remarkably different from Popular Front or Stalinist shibboleths, he finds fault with the book for featuring films that aren't available in "local video stores." (Of course, the masthead informs us that Jarach hails from Berkeley—not precisely a town where it is difficult to find video stores that carry foreign or independent films.) How strange that an anarchist magazine, supposedly a beacon of the alternative media, is capitulating to Blockbuster and the strictures of the culture industry. He also (I'm sure inadvertently) underestimates his anarchist colleagues by claiming that my discussion of supposedly "obscure" films (Vigo's *Zero for Conduct* and Clair's *A nous la liberté*—termed

"some French musical" by Jarach—are certainly not obscure for film buffs, whether anarchist or not) establishes a "power differential...unacceptable to anti-authoritarians." After all, anti-authoritarians have been very resourceful in setting up alternative distribution networks. Anarchist bookshops, moreover, often feature "obscure" anarchist and situationist videos in their catalogues. (Interestingly enough, one of Jarach's favorites, a very bad film by Irwin Kershner called *S\*P\*Y\*S*, is not currently available on video.)

Despite the fact that the book surveys literally hundreds of films, Jarach complains that several of his favorites are not discussed. He seems to overlook the fact that, while I tried to be as comprehensive as possible, *Film and the Anarchist Imagination* is a critical study, not an encyclopedia. Oddly enough, while Jarach scolds me for "privileging" supposedly esoteric European films (not really true, since the book discusses many important, if problematic, American films such as *The Wobblies*, *Anarchism in America*,

and *Manufacturing Consent* at length and devotes considerable space to a fine Latin American movie, *Rebellion in Patagonia*), a New York antiauthoritarian bemoaned the fact that I didn't feature more avant-garde films by the likes of John Cage and Jackson Mac Low. Given these cavils, the best a critic can do is follow his own instincts. I agree that the film adaptations of B. Traven's novels deserve attention, but Huston's film version of *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, while a rousing entertainment, is much more a specimen of Forties liberalism (released in 1948, it is not, therefore, "one of the finest American films of the '50s" as Jarach asserts) than a genuine example of anarchist cinema. Jarach also misses the point about my enthusiasm for Godard and Gorin's *Tout Va Bien*. I never deny the fact that Godard was not an anarchist (incidentally, he was not really much of a

Maoist either—his supposedly pro-Chinese stance was something of a pose that now embarrasses him), but attempt to make the case that the film chronicles post '68 anti-authoritarian currents, despite the ostensibly Leninist convictions of the director. But maybe this formulation is a little too subtle for a reviewer who is reluctant to view films that aren't made in Hollywood or available at his local video store.

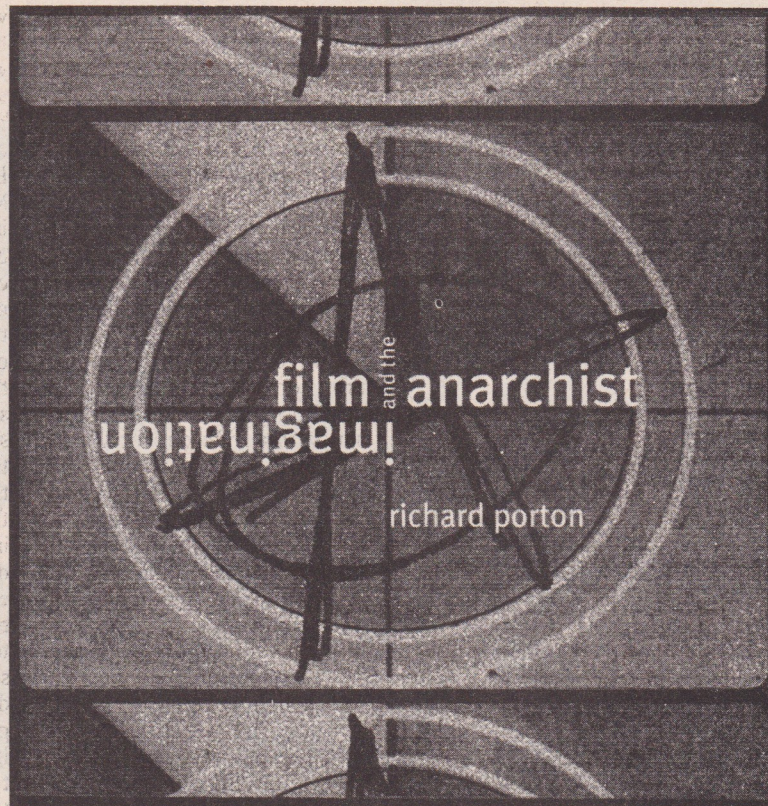
It should go without saying that there are omissions in my book and, like most authors, I sometimes cringe when I look at it now. But I don't believe it deserved the superficial and uninformed treatment it received in *Anarchy*.

Sincerely,  
Richard Porton  
Hoboken, NJ

rporton@mindspring.com

## Lawrence Jarach replies: Check the review

For those who are interested to see how these misunderstandings began, I refer them to my review in *Anarchy* #48; I won't waste readers' time by going over them





point by point.

I stand corrected concerning the release date of *Treasure of the Sierra Madre* and of the subtitle of *Cineaste*. Interestingly, Porton doesn't offer the correct subtitle of his magazine, since that might bring him under more scrutiny than he would want in these pages. The real subtitle is "America's leading magazine on the art and politics of the cinema." And what kind of politics are in it? Left liberalism of course.

I find it somewhat ironic that Verso also publishes Althusser's greatest hits in English. Obviously Porton isn't responsible for the other material his publisher produces, but neither can he feign ignorance. He never claims not to be a leftist, "orthodox" or otherwise.

Yes, living in Berkeley gives me easy access to many fine independent sources for film and video, but how that translates to this magazine "capitulating to Blockbuster" is a conclusion that's "a little too subtle" for me.

Porton doesn't try to contradict my contention that *A nous la liberté* isn't anarchist, just that it's not obscure. He asserts that *S\*P\*Y\*S* is "a very bad film" (I agree that it's not great) but doesn't say that there aren't anarchists in it (and anyone who wants to have a copy can send me a videotape and stamps and I'll make one). So a film he likes but isn't anarchist gets in his book, while a film he doesn't like that includes anarchists as central characters doesn't get in. What are we supposed to make of that?

As for *Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, the film adaptation may be "a specimen of Forties liberalism," but the story itself (a parable about the conflict between greed and solidarity) is anti-capitalist at its core, in addition to having a subtext that's anti-work, and even a little bit "primitivist." I suspect that Porton's original omission and recent dismissal of the film hinges on those things.

I still think the book is worth reading.

## The virtues of porn

Dear Anarchy Staff

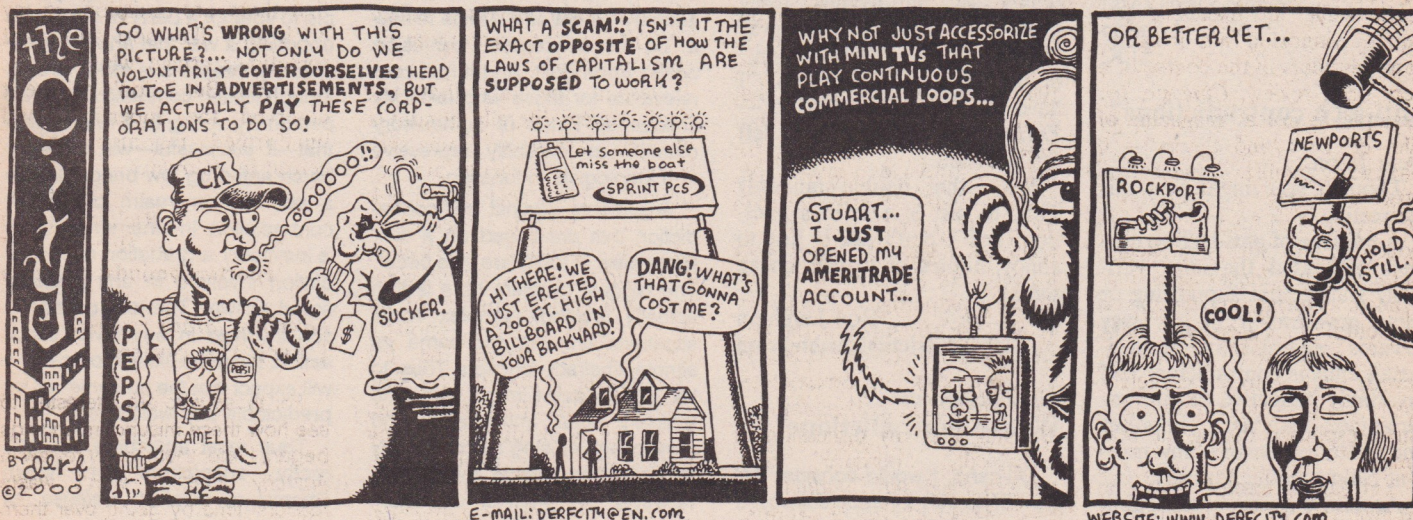
I disagree with Rosalind Dunbar in *Anarchy* 47 when she equates feminism with being anti-pornography. I consider myself a feminist but am against censorship and don't believe that eliminating pornography would be detrimental to female emancipation. Whether it is called erotica, pornography, hard or soft core my contention is that the image of women in this medium is no more sexist and demeaning than in most literature and visual media. Consequently the issue of sexism is not specific to porn; surely all such images should be criticised. For example contrary to popular myth, porn rarely depicts rape whereas horror films, news reports and the general media do. Where porn is degrading it seems to be a reflection of prevailing views of women.

Some porn does contain woman characters that are self-

motivated and concerned with their own pleasure. Even in its present form it may contain positive messages for women. For example that women's sexuality does not have to be linked to reproduction, domesticity, only satisfied in a one-to-one relationship or be defined to a specific gender. By breaking down these assumptions porn asserts the individual. This alternative is a revaluation of the notions of identity, which disturbs conventional concepts of love. Porn provides sexual information in a different form than is available in textbooks or discussions, it is the ultimate in safe sex and allows the exploration of sexual alternatives. It can provide the bliss of guilt free sex and can liberate women from being the good little girl. Porn can indulge curiosity and give an opportunity to see sex portrayed in a variety of ways. Porn can be sophisticated or blatant depending on mood. Porn is interesting to study as it recalls society's anxiety obsessions and contradictions. What appears to bother people is not the image of women in porn, which is like that elsewhere in society, but the sexual explicitness. There seems to be an unconscious acceptance that lust is male. Female sexuality is seen as gentle, tender romantic and often non-genital. This resembles the stereotype of the good woman. If porn is sexist, formulaic or employs text that doesn't make sense then our best strategy is to criticise it and discuss it

with others. My solution would be to make alternative porn, which develops positive pro-women, sexuality. I like porn that provides intelligent, informative alternatives and I also like it cheap and sleazy. The low quality of porn could be improved if the producers were confident that they would receive a return on their investment. With the laws relating to the production and distribution of porn being constantly under threat and changing, it is understandable that editors would not spend a lot of money on something that could be outlawed the next day. In general I do think quality standards need to improve. I have of course been disturbed by pornographic images of certain kinds. This has been rarer than one may be led to believe. But the point is surely whether this has disempowered me. I feel it has prepared me for difficult real life situations and has suggested to me a course of political action. Conversely some images, which were discomforting initially, allowed me to see that my boundaries needed to be relaxed and redefined.

Anarchists should not be surrendering to an instinct to ban. Even on the basis that what is offensive should be banned I fail to see why photographs of people engaged in sexual activity should offend. Yet these examples are seen as central and foster the idea of broad and blanket censorship. Sex and its depiction are a source of



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pleasure to many and our freedom to indulge should be defended or at least tolerated. I believe that sexual repression is a source of violence, self-loathing and despair and does more harm to individuals and society than porn. Feminists should be resisting the right's assault on women's sexual freedom not reinforcing it. Nobody should be able to dictate any women's sexual expression. I see this as a sinister attempt to control women's sexuality under the name of female liberation. Some women use porn to enhance their sex lives, as a creative means of exploring their own sexuality, others work in the sex industry. I place a specifically feminist commitment to women's sexual autonomy in the context of a more general sexual radicalism.

Whether you like porn or not you have to ask yourselves how censorship will be carried out by a capitalist state as censorship has historically worked against left and gay groups. I have found that by talking candidly about the pleasure porn can bring the issue can be discussed without ridicule, stigmatisation and censure and the sense that one is offending against anarcho-feminist tenants. I have consumed porn sporadically over 27 years. It has not changed my sexuality but has helped me provide a channel for it. It has never made me do anything unsafe or non-consensual. I defend the right to consume and appear in it.

Yours sincerely,  
Melanie Davis (Ms)  
London  
U.K.

## Anti-tech contradictions?

Dear Jason,

Thought you might find this interesting....

A number of anti-tech writers have expressed the idea, variously stated, that supporting or using government in any way towards anarchist/anti-authoritarian ends is contradictory and invariably indicative of authoritarian/non-anarchist impulses and attitudes, despite any insistent claims to the contrary.

Around the time of the publi-

cation in mainstream papers of the Unabomber's views, John Zerzan went on radio to have a dialogue with callers about anarchism/anti-techism. He has said on at least two occasions that he was willing to go on radio (a form of technology) but drew the line at television (another form of technology). Why? The decision seems entirely arbitrary. However, even if it wasn't an arbitrary drawing of the line, does not going on the radio belie Zerzan's anti-tech declarations? Maybe he's more conservative than he lets on? Or would that be a unfair take on the matter?

John Filiss on the other hand uses a (rather interesting as well as aesthetically-pleasing) website to promote anti-tech views.

Now, my point isn't that Zerzan or Filiss or anyone else should refrain from propagating anti-tech views, nor that I necessarily disagree with such views, but only that it seems like a belying contradiction that they would in any way use technology to propagate anti-tech views. After all, they both, along with many others, bristle at the very notion of anarchists using, say, the state to accomplish their goals in any way or to any degree. And if anarchists/anti-authoritarians happen to suggest using the government or some degree or form of government towards their goals, they are dismissed as liberals or leftists, or, if the name-caller is feeling charitable, anarcho-liberals/leftists. Meanwhile, the reality of anti-techies using technology is rationalized away ("I drew the line at television," or, on owning a television, "I have to be narcotized too"—Zerzan both times). Or left unaddressed.

Why the double-standard? This, to me, is a serious question, and I don't ask it just to annoy, nitpick or to take cheap shots.

Ron Leighton  
soulinvictus@yahoo.com

## Jason comments:

### Whose contradictions?

Off-hand, I would consider this type of search for such supposed

"contradictions" as a rather silly and illogical attempt to impugn criticisms of technology without having to deal with any of their actual content.

However, I have begun to realize that this type of confusion is much more widespread than I had initially thought—especially after similar questions and attacks have come up repeatedly from a wide variety of sources, some sincere, many not. So I'll take a few minutes to explicitly point out what would at first seem to me to be the obvious problems with such "contradiction" accusations.

To begin we need to recognize that there are huge differences between the three basic types of arguments often being made: moral, logical and practical.

Arguments from morality demand that when someone makes a commitment to a radical social position, the position becomes a moral imperative. An example would be the moralistic take on pacifism in which any resort to violence (whether in self-defense or not) is considered evil and pacifists are expected to allow themselves and their comrades to be killed rather than be condemned as "self-contradictory." Similarly, anarchists who resort to governmental intervention on any level are condemned as violators of a moral law, and those with critiques of technology as a system are similarly censured. Of course, under this type of moral imperative those who oppose capitalism are also expected to forego any immoral contact with money! Obviously this type of argument from morality has little relevance to anarchy except as a device to sow a bit of conceptual confusion based upon guilt. And it has zero relevance for those who explicitly criticize all forms of compulsory morality as implicitly repressive and ideological in function.

Arguments against self-contradiction that are based on a simplistic view of logic fare little better. The biggest problem here is that actually existing, complex social situations are not the same as simple, abstract concepts. Thus, to be anti-capitalist might seem to logically entail immediately and irrevocably refusing all commodity relations and market mediations. However, in practice capitalism

can't be seamlessly cut out of one's life when one is immersed in a social system which reaches into every area of that life. Similarly, just because one declares oneself an anarchist does not mean that the state gets out of one's light and avoids interfering with one's life. It's there regardless and requires negotiation and compromise to avoid imprisonment or death. Avoiding a technological system which penetrates most aspects of everyday life is little different in this respect.

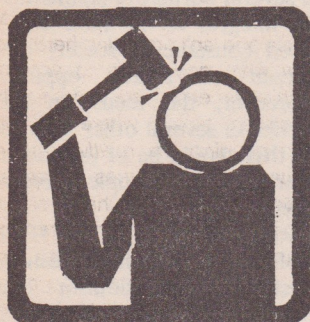
Which leaves us with practical arguments that actions significantly contradicting overall values or principles simply don't work because one isn't practicing here and now what one wants to accomplish as an end. Here we've finally entered a terrain where we can start gauging the relative importance of different types of contradictions, recognizing that in social life most contradictions are not absolute, but partial. Thus, any one particular (yet inevitably complex) social activity may include aspects which are both contradictory and non-contradictory with any given value, principle or theory. Once we've reached this point, we need to recognize the relative strength of contradictions. Some will be stronger than others.

For an anarchist, a vanguard party forming a revolutionary state to force anarchy on a substantially unwilling populace represents an overwhelmingly strong contradiction. Forming an electoral political party dedicated to promoting anarchy from within the state if elected involves another pretty strong contradiction. While encouraging people to vote for a party or candidate opposing a war that another party credibly threatens is still a strong, though lesser, contradiction. While personally voting in a referendum that—if successful—will repeal a harsh anti-drug law brings us into a still murkier realm of weaker contradiction. In other words there is inevitably a gradation of contradiction involved in any practical social activity. The less contradiction involved in any given social action, the more likely most people will expect that the outcome will be predictable and welcome.

Thus most anarchists are correctly suspicious of Noam Chomsky's explicit defense of



some state institutions as a counterbalance to increasing levels multinational corporate power, arguing that this type of defense of state institutions, even in the service of a reasonable goal, abandons some critically important anarchist principles of action in favor of a *programmatically* authoritarian response to the problem. On the other hand, if an anarchist calls the local police department to report that her car was stolen, less contradiction is involved, especially since she isn't programmatically calling for police to exist now and forever to deal with stolen property and its repercussions.



IGNORANCE MAY BE  
ENCOUNTERED

Similarly, when it comes to opposing technology as an alienating, repressive system, we need to distinguish the actual levels of potential contradiction involved. Obviously, programmatic calls to embrace advanced technologies would be strongly contradictory with anarchist positions critical of technology. Whereas attempts to use particular technologies to oppose other forms of technology (or to oppose the current overall system of capital/state/technology) will be a murky, changing area always requiring evaluation. While individual anarchist's uses of particular technologies in an overwhelmingly technological social world will be relatively unproblematic, with a much lower level of contradiction involved. (Driving or flying, as opposed to walking, across the continent to protest the WTO, capital and state in Seattle, for example.)

With a little common sense and concern for the actual weight of the different factors involved, most people will come up with similar evaluations of the level of contradiction in different possibilities of radical social action. Where we end up with absurdities spouted

about the contradictions in anarchists ever employing violence, or anti-capitalists ever using money, or "anti-tech" revolutionaries ever doing just about anything conceivably connected with any form of technology, you can bet that there are also some fundamental disagreements over principles and values which are obscuring what's really at issue.

Currently, there is an extreme level of insincerity and hostility (and as a direct result, simple stupidity) involved in most of the more bizarre accusations that those critical of technology as a system are implicitly advocating genocide, mass starvation or worse. Accusations that anarchists who are critical of the interpenetration of technology, capital and state are being contradictory if they watch a television would be completely laughable were they not so widespread. I hope most readers will agree that we can all do better than this!

## Whorfian language games

Dear Jason and Paul,

A few comments on *Anarchy* #47 (what a long wild ride it's been!).

At the conclusion of his interview with Professor Peter d'Errico, Rob los Ricos thanks him "for getting the wheels spinning inside my head." An apt if inadvertent borrowing from Max Stirner, who denounced the ideologue (any ideologue) for having "wheels in your head." The interview ended as it began, with a whimper. Los Ricos opened with a straightforward question about how the notions of sovereignty (native sovereignty vs. state sovereignty) play out in the struggle of "non-state People[s]" against "Imperial states" (los Ricos' phrases) for what d'Errico has called "self-defining self-determination." By way of reply, d'Errico and a subaltern, Steve Newcomb, launch into a windy set-piece tirade about how "these terms themselves are social and political constructs of the dominant society, but what do they really mean?" We must "reframe" these "questions which frame the ground for the answers," especially suspect since "they are

derived from the 'western world-view,' blah blah blah.

This post-modernist runaround was all it took to reduce los Ricos to cringing subservience for the duration of the interview, notwithstanding certain obvious points;

1. D'Errico does *not* reframe the questions, nor does he answer them whether framed or reframed.

2. D'Errico does not address the fact that these constructs are synonyms of his own terminology. There's little if any difference in meaning—at least he doesn't bother to argue otherwise—between his "state governments" and "stateless societies" and los Ricos' "Imperial states" and "non-state People."

3. If either los Ricos or d'Errico is deploying the social constructs of the dominant society, so is the other. What else is there to deploy?

In a manful effort to impute some sense to d'Errico's Gracie Allenisms, los Ricos tactfully translates them as having some reference to the internalization of oppression by the oppressed—but the professor will have none of it! "If we agree that 'consciousness' is at issue"—why the equivocal quotation marks? Who is he quoting?—"we can then adopt/adapt what others have said on this, including Fanon, Lukacs, Gramsci, W. Reich, R. Pirsig [!], etc., not all of whom were involved with 'native' peoples' struggles [none of them were], but who did focus on the question of 'consciousness.' Some of these writers will be more useful than others"—which ones, professor?—"because they remembered that 'consciousness' is embodied in nature." But...

1. Except possibly the author of *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, all these thinkers were certain that consciousness is embodied in culture, not nature. (D'Errico, if he knew what he was talking about, should have cited such eminences as the Catholic theologian Teilhard de Chardin or the Marxist mystic Murray Bookchin. If all you are capable of is name-dropping, you should at least know which are the right

names to drop.)

2. Hadn't the professor just finished lecturing us that concepts are political and social constructs? If so, they are elements of consciousness, and so consciousness is not embodied in nature.

At this point, d'Errico tags Newcomb, who goes off on another tangent: language. He cannot speak or think in the languages of his Shawnee and Lenape ancestors, and so has been "deprived of the means of thinking and perceiving outside the Western Christo-European language system." Later he equates this language system with the Indo-European languages. "Without our own language how can we know first hand what it actually 'looks like' [why the coy quotation marks?] outside of English? What does reality 'look like' from within an entirely non-Western, non-Indo-European language system? Is it really so different, or not?"

Although he probably doesn't know it, Newcomb is presupposing a crude version of what linguists call the Whorfian hypothesis, the hypothesis that different languages determine different cultures or at least world-views. No linguist or anthropologist affirms the hypothesis in any very strong form. It's easy to line up societies greatly different in language but very similar in culture as well as societies which speak the same language but are very different in culture. This is true not only of First World, European-style societies but also of indigenous peoples, including Native American peoples. The Aztecs and the Apaches, for instance, spoke the same language, but you can hardly imagine two peoples whose culture and society were more different. The Comanches and the Sioux had similar cultures but spoke unrelated languages. Examples abound everywhere, including Europe. Basques and Galicians, like Austrians and Hungarians or Swedes and Finns, are culturally close although their languages are unrelated. On the other hand, the Dutch and the Afrikaaners, although they speak closely related languages, are radically different in world-



view. Further difficulties ensue:

1. There is no such thing as a "Western Christo-European language system" (which Newcomb equates with the Indo-European language family). Most Europeans speak Indo-European languages, but many do not (Hungarians, Finns, Estonians, Turks, etc.). And hundreds of millions of speakers of Indo-European languages are not European (in Iran, Kurdistan, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, etc.).

2. And what's a "Christo-European" language system? What does language have to do with religion? Many Jews, Muslims, atheists and others have managed to speak and think their beliefs in European languages—presumably d'Errico and Newcomb are among them. Although the converse is much less common, there have been "praying Indians" since 17th century Massachusetts Bay who have embraced Christianity as served up to them in their own languages. Did the *Bible* shed all its hegemonic, genocidal power when translated into Cherokee—or did that enhance its malign power?

3. If a particular language—English, for instance—shapes thought and limits what is thinkable, surely they all do. Thus Lenape and Shawnee, the languages Newcomb complains of being deprived of, also shape thought and limit what is thinkable. Yet Newcomb claims that without these languages he is deprived, not only of a different

worldview, but of "first hand" access to "what it actually 'looks like' outside of English." To speak English is to be "incarcerated" by it, but to speak Lenape or Shawnee is to be authenticated by it. Even if this were true, how does Newcomb know, since he speaks no Indian languages? For all he knows, they might incarcerate him too, maybe in a smaller cell.

This is all half-educated nonsense. If it's so important to these indigenist intellectuals to understand the languages of their ancestors, why don't they learn them? That's the sort of project that sabbaticals are for. It may be that for various imaginable reasons it is not practical for these men to master these exotic languages, if indeed they are still spoken at all. But there are plenty of viable Indian languages, such as Lakota and Navaho for which formal instruction is available.

Presumably any of them would bust these victims out of the prison which is English. For that matter, so would any other non-Indo-European language. I guarantee that there are Hebrew schools in Denver and Amherst.

I have always envied those who are bilingual, but I have not observed in them the qualitatively different and higher consciousness which is predicted by the d'Errico/Newcomb theory. I have even known persons before and after they learned another language, with no ap-

parent effect on their worldviews. Enough! The function of the bastard Whorfian hustle is obvious. If and when he says something smart, d'Errico or Newcomb has transcended the limits of language. When, more often, they say something stupid, it's the language's fault, not theirs: "The language speaks us as we speak the language."

Even assisted by los Ricos' promptings, d'Errico never did say anything about what los Ricos was asking about, the actual or possible connections between anarchism and the anti-state resistance of indigenous stateless societies. The holy name of Fredy Perlman, twice evoked by los Ricos, meant nothing to d'Errico. The professor knows nothing about anarchism and not a whole lot more about anything else. It was all stalking, equivocating, bluffing, and changing the subject—in other words, running out the clock. It reminded me of nothing so much as President Clinton's grand jury testimony. Asked (in nicer words, of course) if Monica Lewinsky gave him blowjobs, the Chief Executive replied, "It depends what the meaning of 'is' is"—a masterpiece of mystification! It may be no accident that Clinton and d'Errico are both lawyers. And it may be no accident that I'm a lawyer too: I'm on to their tricks. On occasion I've pulled them too.

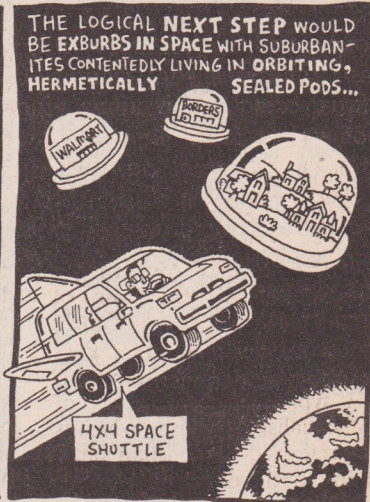
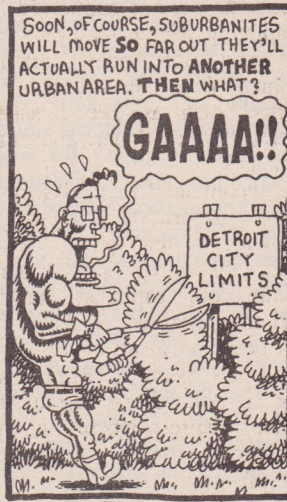
Bob Black  
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## On "Abstract Expressionism: Vision and Critique"

I agree with John Zerzan about the dramatic power of Jackson Pollock's work. I also agree with his assertions of the formal inventiveness of Abstract Expressionism in general. But Zerzan overstates the case for the radicality of AE by positing it as the ultimate anti-authoritarian style. (He says that AE "refused all systems, ideologies, and pigeonholes.") A closer look will reveal that Abstract Expressionism willingly gives in to several normative scripts that are integral to the male-dominated consumerist society that Zerzan so rightly opposes. Moreover, the focus on AE overlooks several other types of art that should be of interest to liberty-loving people everywhere.

Rather than being the "final evolution of painting," gestural Abstract Expressionism was only the next logical outgrowth of one branch of Surrealism. Joan Miro was already making random scribbles into abstract paintings in the middle 1930s. The Abstract Expressionists saw these works at New York's Museum of Non-Objective Art, where Pollock worked as a night janitor. Also, Pollock's teacher Hans Hofmann had thrown paint in small canvases five years before Pollock did it in large ones. Pollock was also influenced by David Siqueiros and Navajo Sand Painters, who also used innovative methods of



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applying pigment. And the color-field explorations of Newman and Rothko were already well prepared much earlier by the monochromatic canvases of Russian Constructivist Kasimir Malevich. Rothko and Newman both knew of this work, and they made only a minor variation on it.

Further proof of the lack of radicality of AE is its easy fit into the system of art exposition and sale. In order to experience these works, one must either have a great deal of money to buy them, or go to an authoritarian, corporate-funded institution such as the Met or the Museum of Modern Art. The individualist ethos that they propound so memorably, while paralleling in some ways Stirner's individualist style of anarchism, fits very well into the game of Modern Art. The Abstract Expressionists willingly joined the gallery and dealer system. Corporations today are milking the cow of modernist innovation for all it's worth, allying themselves with the spirit of creativity that modern art embodies. Zerzan points out that the works have not escaped commodification, but he neglects to tell the reason why: it is because the works are too close to the bosom of capitalism. He is correct that the initial response to AE was hostile, but as with the cases of Impressionism, Cubism, Dada, Surrealism, Futurism, and all the rest, the public soon got over the shock, and indeed learned to enjoy being shocked.

The abstract paintings of Pollock, Kline, and DeKooning, for all of their innovativeness, re-enact some very old scripts. The Abstract Expressionist artist is the "wild man," the magician, the vatic orator, the individual with special insight who invents something to help humanity. This is certainly a founding myth of Modern art, and it's equally true also of artists such as Edvard Munch, Vincent Van Gogh, Paul Gauguin, and others. Moreover, AE typifies the standards of individualist capitalism, which is characterized by constant innovation and restless energy as individuals struggle to achieve

and "make their mark." Modern art since its inception has constantly given birth to new styles, just as capitalism keeps coming up with new products. Rather than opposing those norms, Pollock merely found an especially creative way of embodying them.

A further problem is that the size and drama of the works encourage passive spectatorship of the sort that Guy Debord decried. The paintings neither share their creative energies nor empower viewers. Rather, they say, "I am special. I can do this. You watch." Rather than enabling or encouraging creativity of viewers, the works strike us dumb.

The ideology of Abstract Expressionism is also consistent with traditional male domination. The "violent, terrible energy," and the "wildness and epic qualities" of the works are also characteristic of the Gunfight at O.K. Corral for sheer orgiastic violence. The unruly lives that many AbEx artists led had much more to do with macho swagger than with alienation from the capitalist system. For example, the most recent and thoroughly researched biography of Jackson Pollock asserts that his dripping and pouring style of painting was an effort to recover the sexual potency that he lacked in life. Also, feminists have frequently lambasted deKooning's AbEx paintings of women as highly demeaning. There is a significant mixture of male ego in the Abstract Expressionist urge for freedom, a point supported by examining the decidedly different and more poetic art by women from the same time period such as Lee Krasner, Helen Frankenthaler, and Joan Mitchell.

I recommend that folks looking for inspiration in art might consider a few other movements, where resistance to male domination, capitalist scripts, and the mystique of the artist has been more successful. Here are a few examples from post-war art that belong beside Abstract Expressionism in an anarcho-libertarian canon of Art History:

- The Great Wall of Los

Angeles. Created in the late 70s by a team of unemployed teenagers and gang members, this half-mile-long Social Realist mural tells the story of California history from the point of view of the exploited. You can't buy this piece. To see it, all you have to do is go to the largest drainage ditch in Van Nuys, where it occupies one side wall.

- The Brazilian Neo-Concrete movement of the late 1960s. Lygia Clark made hinged abstract metal sculptures that viewers could manipulate, so that they determined the final shape of the work, not the artist. Helio Oiticica made brightly colored billowy capes that viewers, instead of passively seeing them in a museum, were supposed to put on and wear. Some of the capes bore anarchist slogans.

- The Destruction in Art Movement of the early 1960s. Gustav Metzger made paintings by applying varying solutions of clear hydrochloric acid to primed blank canvases. The paintings then destroyed themselves over time. Nikki de St. Phalle made collages and then shot them with guns or pelted them with darts. She regularly invited friends to participate in these ritual sacrifices.

- Recent Digital Printmakers. Peter Halley created a print in the form of a digital file which viewers could download and then finish for themselves. Available wherever a computer can be found, these works bore two signatures when complete: that of the "artist," and that of the "viewer," but their roles were confused.

None of the examples I have adduced here completely escape the noxious gases of the oppressive capitalist system that we seem doomed to inhabit. But each in its way enacts a small zone of resistance. Yes, viewers should go and enjoy Abstract Expressionism for its dramatic power and raw energy. But please be aware that there are other perhaps better places, further from the beaten track, where art has been used to stand against the system.

Patrick Frank  
Lawrence, KS

## Substitute teaching

Dear Editor,

I am writing in response to the letter printed in #48 about substitute teaching. I hope to offer another perspective so that readers contemplating making the career switch may be a little more prepared for what they're getting into.

I have been subbing in middle and high schools for almost a year, and when I first started, I thought much the way that J.T. does. I wanted to give young people a break from the authoritarian grind and possibly introduce them to radical ideas, or at least foster discussions on injustice and/or social change. Although I have had some inspiring moments and learned quite a bit about the public educational system, I have become very aware of the strict limits on how I can affect the young people I come into contact with.

One of the first things I realized is that although I may be an antiauthoritarian, the students and I are both confined in an authoritarian framework. I would have to disagree with J.T. that substitutes have "no boss." The administrators at the schools where I teach are very much my bosses. Although I am not responsible for a particular curriculum, I can be reprimanded for not following school policy or fired from a district for discussing "inappropriate" material, including radical politics. All it takes is one student mentioning at the dinner table how their sub was talking about anarchism for a parent's phone call to the principal to result in my dismissal. Although my work schedule is flexible, I'd disagree with J.T. again by arguing against "complete flexibility."

The other main reality check for me was noticing how few students were interested in critical thinking, especially when proposed by a complete stranger—the substitute teacher. The love of learning present in preschoolers is usually killed by the time they reach middle school. Consequently, rather than seeing a room full of "eager minds...looking for context for their anti-authoritarianism,"



## Letters

you'd be more likely to encounter a room full of young people trying to get away with doing nothing at all. And why should they try, when they've never seen you before, and may never see you again?

I continue to learn a lot about society and human interaction by subbing, and I hope that at least some of the students have learned something from me. I would recommend subbing to people who want to work with young people and want to start by glimpsing firsthand the system they dwell in. However, for anyone who is serious about working with young people in radical politics or critical thinking, I suggest finding a route in which you have more of a long-term relationship with the same young people, and preferably, (if not imperatively) out of the clutches of the administration. I don't quite know what that is yet (or I'd be doing it myself), but I think it's worth considering before you jump into the education mills.

Sincerely,  
K.S.  
Oakland, CA

### New Green Anarchy

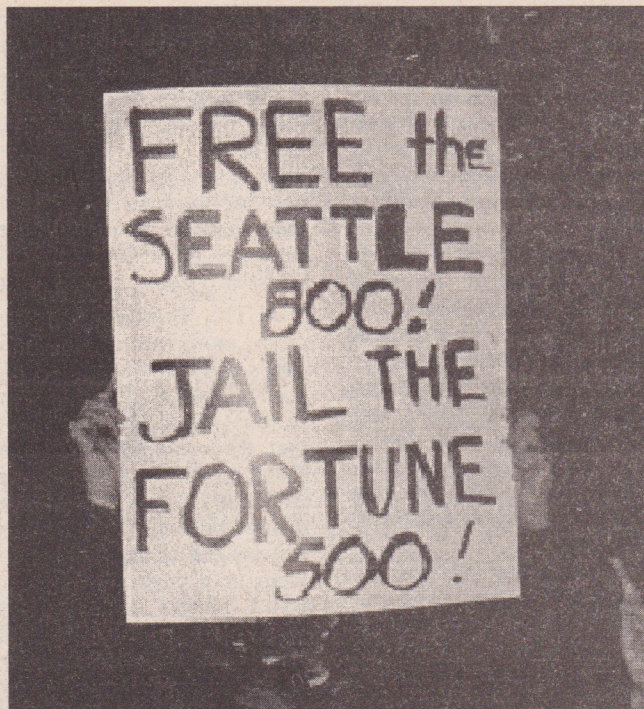
Hello people,

We at *Green Anarchy* hope to bring the world a green anarchist paper like that of the UK *Green Anarchist*, though less primitivist in nature with broader green and anarchist news and views.

The topics we hope to cover in our news are Community resistance, anti-fascism, strikes, riots, sittings, etc, ecodefence and animal liberation, as well as sexual politics, gay liberation etc., youth lib, plus core issues, as well as prisoner news, reviews of books and records, so if you want to help please send us any of the above.

If you want to write the deadline is April 27th though we hope to cover May 1st news and hope to get the paper out mid-May.

If you want to check out *Green Anarchy* you can get it from us for \$2 (plus postage for outside the US of \$1) or subscribe 5 issues for \$10 (plus



\$5 outside North America) to:  
*Green Anarchy*  
PO Box 11331  
Eugene, OR 97440, USA

Donations are greatly needed.  
Hope you want to help,  
Land and Liberty  
*Green Anarchy*  
Eugene, OR

### Legal Support

Folks,

A small group of Seattle activists are forming a not-for-profit group to funnel funds towards the legal support of anarchists and similar radical activists who are facing trials for politically motivated acts. Our first project will be to raise defense monies for the 6 people being charged with felonies from the anti-WTO demonstrations here. We hope to be established as a legal defense fund for future trials as well as create a info database of sympathetic lawyers.

A bank account, website & mailing address (all the usual trappings) are being set up. For more information, please contact "Mutual Aid Legal Fund" via:

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Keri Tyler  
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Solidarity,  
Eric Dee

### Battle of Seattle continues in the courts

"the criminalization and arrest of a comrade must be seen as part of the ongoing social struggle, precisely because they are the harshest material means used by the state to discourage all radicalization, always and in whatever way."

-from "Revolutionary Solidarity" by Pierleone Porcu

my name is joi and i am charged with two felonies (malicious mischief 1 and assault 3) resulting from the wto meeting in seattle late last year. i was arrested after being pepper-sprayed and tackled from behind by a plain-clothes seattle police officer. i spent 8 days in jail, with a bail set at \$10,000 before being let out on personal recognizance.

there is a widespread misconception that the Direct Action Network legal team has been assisting those arrested the week of wto. however, DAN and it's legal team decided early on against any solidarity or assistance for the felons because

we allegedly broke the non-violence guidelines. it's ludicrous to see self proclaimed activists ally themselves with the state, choosing to offer up as sacrifices those with more radical tactics. it is difficult for me to adjust to the harsh reality that i may lose over a year of my life (sentence range if convicted of both is 5-14 months) while the corporations i am accused of vandalizing trudge on killing cultures and destroying the earth.

seattle is most commonly agreed upon as being a "victory" by many in the activist community. we have to remember that the police state we experienced for just a few days here, is the way thousands of people are forced to live their entire lives. we are extremely privileged in that most of us could return within days to the comfort of our daily lives relatively unscathed. overall, i see seattle as being the first definitive step in a struggle that is far from over. but for me, and a handful of others, the aftermath is far more to be reckoned with than anything we could have expected.

it is my intention to seek out the support i hope is out there among the anarchist/radical community. my trial date is set for may 15th in seattle.

joyanna zacher  
p.o. box 1141  
seattle, wa 98111

[joi\\_polloi@yahoo.com](mailto:joi_polloi@yahoo.com)

there can be no justice at the hands of the oppressors. -joi

### Being guilty

There are lot utopians out there, but wake up—revolution is not something you dreamed of during the teenage masturbation sessions, it kicks you in the teeth, it is something cold and unpredictable. The revolution is a virtue itself, it's pointless to expect a "greater good" afterwards.

Violence is necessary. *Being guilty is the only way to maintain one's own dignity in a society that treats you as guilty anyway.*

Toni Sikorsky,  
Vancouver, B.C.  
Canada  
[ostrog13@yahoo.com](mailto:ostrog13@yahoo.com)



# Alternative Press Review back issues!

*Alternative Press Review*, formerly published by C.A.L. Press, remains a sister publication of *Anarchy* magazine. *Alternative Press Review* can be your window on the world of independent media. *APR* publishes a wide variety of the best essays from radical zines, tabloids, books and magazines—essays that deserve a much wider readership than they currently enjoy. Plus, *APR* publishes a selection of lively article

excerpts in each issue, along with reviews, commentary and columns on the alternative press and other alternative media.

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**APR Vol.1,#1** (84pp. magazine) [Fall '93] Contents include "No Thanks for the Memories" by Ted Schultz & "Doors to Memory" by Ethan Watters (both on repressed memory syndrome), the hilarious "Cults of Consumption" by Max Cafard (on the Televangelists), George Bradford's case against "Civilization in Bulk," Joel Griffiths on the media's favorite toxic waste—"Flouride: Commie Plot or Capitalist Plot?" along with Michael William on "Bisexuality" and Noam Chomsky at his best, explaining the history, techniques and function of "Media Control."

**APR Vol.1,#2** (84pp. magazine) Winter '94 Contents include Tom Frank & Keith White's "Twenty Nothing," John Zerzan's cogent "The Mass Psychology of Misery," Part Two of Max Cafard's "Cults of Consumption," Clarence Lusane on "Rap, Race and Politics," and Daniel Brandt's highly important evaluation of Bill Clinton's place in the power elite, "Clinton, Quigley and Conspiracy." Also featured is an interview with Ramsey Kanaan of AK Distribution.

**APR Vol.1,#3** (84pp. magazine) Spring/Summer '94 Contents include Noam Chomsky's "Time Bombs" (on the new global economy and reactions like the Zapatistas rebellion in Chiapas), "Forests of the Milk River" by Wade Davis (on biodiversity in the Amazon basin), Sunfrog's "Pornography and Pleasure," Tom Frank's "Alternative to What?" ("Rock'n'Roll is the health of the state"), and Arch Stanton on "The Political Economy of Ecstasy." Also featured is the first of a two-part interview with the Left Bank Collective in Seattle.

**APR Vol.1,#4** (84pp. magazine) Fall '94 Contents include Taylor Stoehr's "Media Trance," T. Fulano's "Insurgent Mexico," Daniel Brandt on "Cults, Anti-Cults & the Cult of Intelligence" (the political uses of provocative labelling), Billy Goltz's "The Trouble with Do-Gooders" (health "care" as commodity), and Alex Trotter on "Decadence," along with Part Two of the Left Bank Collective interview.

**APR Vol.2,#1** (84pp. magazine) Winter '95 Contents include "Film Noir since the '50s" by Jerry Kutner, "Spiritual Anarchy and the Wild Man in Colonial America" by Peter Lamborn Wilson, Taylor Stoehr on "Paul Goodman and the Media," Wendy McElroy's "The New Mythologies of Rape," and two critiques of the CIA, Robert Parry's "Bad Company" and I.T.T.'s "Closing the Company."



**APR Vol.2,#2** (84pp. magazine) Summer '95 Contents include Daniel Brandt's "The Decline of American Journalism," "An Interview with Zapatista Women" by Guio Rovera Sancho, Hakim Bey's "Immediatism vs. Capitalism," Matthew Fuller's "Flyposter Frenzy" and Tom Frank on the new "Dark Age: Why Johnny Can't Dissent."

**APR Vol.2,#3** (84pp. magazine) Winter '96 Contents include Edward S. Herman's "By Any Means Necessary: The Big Lie Theory of America's Biggest Newspaper" (the *Wall Street Journal*), Tracy Barnett's "Challenge in Chiapas," a David Barsamian interview with Noam Chomsky titled "Rollback: Return of Predatory Capitalism," Fred Woodworth's disposal of "The Computer: Dr. Frankenstein's Monster or Biggest Ripoff in History?" and Adam Parfrey's controversial "Finding Our



Way out of Oklahoma" (on the many loose ends in the Oklahoma City bombing case). This issue also features interviews with David Barsamian (producer of the *Alternative Radio* public affairs program) and Jay Kinney of *Gnosis* magazine.

**APR Vol.2,#4** (88pp. magazine) Spring/Summer 1997 Contents include "Excavating the Instant Ruin" by Alfredo Botello (on the new hip marketing aesthetic), Monica Warden & Kennette Crockett on "The Bisexual Closet," "Post-Urban, Post-Industrial but never Post-Elite" by Edward Castleton (new urban theories for looting the cities), and the *Fifth Estate*'s "Kill the Car—No More Roads." This issue also features an interview with investigative journalist Allen Nairn (on his work in Haiti, Guatemala, and East Timor).

**APR Vol.3,#1** (68pp. magazine) Spring/Summer '98 Contents include Nikki Gershon on "Same-Sex Marriage," Daniel Brandt's "Journalism and the CIA" (describing the extensive collusion between the CIA and the mainstream media), Christian Parent's "A Revolution in American Policing" ("Zero Tolerance") and Bill Andrietteon "America's Sex Gulags." Also features an interview with Brenda Loew of *EIDOS* ("Everyone Is Doing Outrageous Sex") magazine and "The Pacification of Public Radio."

**APR Vol.3,#2** (68pp. magazine) Winter '98-99 Contents include "Heterosexual Love—Queer Families" by Annalee Newitz, an amazing "Grandpa Munster Interview" (with Al Lewis), Ron Sakolsky's "Frequencies of Resistance: The Rise of Free Radio," Karl Grossman on "The Wrong Stuff: Nukes in Space," and Sheldon Rampton & John Stauber's exposé of "Partners in Censorship: Fox & Monsanto." Also in this issue is an excerpt from the CIA's Secret Manual on Coercive Questioning.

**APR Vol.4,#1** (76pp. magazine) Spring/Summer '99 Contents include "Midwest Anarchists Speak Out!" (interviews from *Passionate and Dangerous*), coverage of the NATO-Yugoslav War featuring Noam Chomsky on "The Current Bombings: Behind the Rhetoric," Michel Chossudovsky's "Dismantling Former Yugoslavia, Recolonizing Bosnia" and Doug Henwood's "A Very European War." Also David Watson on "Israel: 50 Years of Conquest," Vicki Fox Wiesethier's "The Simple Truth: Selling Coercion to Ann Landers," and Peter Montague's "Against the Grain" (critical of biotechnology in agriculture).

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**Anarchy #8** (12pp. tabloid) [Oct.-Nov. '85] Contents include Bob Black's "The Abolition of Work."

**Anarchy #9** (12pp. tabloid) [Dec. '85-Jan. '86] Includes Gerry Reith's story "Foreign Policy."

**Anarchy #10** (12pp. tabloid) [Feb.-Mar. '86] Contents include the first installment of "The Papalagi."

**Anarchy #11** (12pp. tabloid) [April '86] Includes Gerry Reith's story "Winning Hearts and Minds."

**Anarchy #12** (12pp. tabloid) [Summer '86] Includes "Notes on Playing for Keeps" by Alf Sprack.

**Anarchy #13** [Weekly World Anarchy issue] (20pp. tabloid) [Fall-Winter '86] Includes Murray Bookchin's "Theses on Libertarian Municipalism."

**Anarchy #14** (28pp. tabloid) [Summer '87] Includes John Zerzan's "Vagaries of Negation," & "Intervention in Vietnam & Central America" by Noam Chomsky.

**Anarchy #15** (32pp. tabloid) [Winter '88] Includes "The Realization & Suppression of Religion" by Ken Knabb.

**Anarchy #16** (32pp. tabloid) [Summer '88] Includes Holly's "My life in the Porn Biz," Paula Webster's "Pornography and Pleasure" & more "Anarchy & Religion."

**Anarchy #17** (32pp. tabloid mag.) [Fall-Winter '88-89] Includes "Who Killed Ned Ludd?" by John Zerzan & "The Freedom of Biocentrism" by Lone Wolf Circles.

**Anarchy #18** (32pp. tabloid mag.) [March-April '89] Includes "Bigger Cages, Longer Chains."

**Anarchy #19** (32pp. tabloid mag.) [May-July '89] Special issue on "Children's Sexuality."

**Anarchy #20/21** Double issue (48pp. tabloid mag.) [Aug.-October '89] Includes Richard Walters' "Whatever Happened to the Sexual Revolution," "Jealousy" by Isaac Cronin & Kevin Keating's fiction, "The Man in the Box."

**Anarchy #22** (32pp. tabloid mag.) [Nov.-Dec. '89] Includes "In Search of the New Age" by Janos Nhek.

**Anarchy #23** (36pp. tabloid mag.) [Jan.-Feb. '89] Includes "The Population Myth" by Murray Bookchin & Noam Chomsky's "Propaganda American-Style."

**Anarchy #24** (36pp. tabloid mag.) [March-April '90] Includes "Misinformation and Manipulation: An Anarchist Critique of the Politics of AIDS" by Joe Peacock, and a discussion of "Anarchy & the Sacred" by D. Campion, F. Faun & Chernyi.

**Anarchy #25** (36pp. tabloid mag.) [Summer '90] Includes "The Mass Psychology of Misery" by John Zerzan.

**Anarchy #26** (40pp. tabloid mag.) [Fall '90] Anti-work issue including "Take Things from Work" by bp ummfatik & Kevin Keating's fiction "The Good, The Bad and The Angry."

**Anarchy #27** (36pp. tabloid mag.) [Winter '90-91] Special "Free the Kids" issue.

**Anarchy #28** (36pp. tabloid mag.) [Spring '91] Includes Charlatan Stew's "Myths of the Anti-War Movement" & James Koehnline's "Great Dismal Maroons."

**Anarchy #29** (36pp. tabloid mag.) [Summer '91] Special issue on "The Situationists and Beyond..."

**Anarchy #30** (36pp. tabloid mag.) [Fall '91] Includes Laure A's "The Rebellion that Never Had a Chance" & John Zerzan's "The Catastrophe of Postmodernism."

**Anarchy #31** (44pp. tabloid mag.) [Winter '92] Special issue on "Women, Gender & Anarchy."

**Anarchy #32** (44pp. tabloid mag.) [Spring '92] Special issue on "Libertarian Fiction."

**Anarchy #33** (88pp. magazine) [Summer '92] Special issue on "Abandoning Civilization," includes John Zerzan's "Future Primitive," Fredy Perlman's "Against His-Story," & Ward Churchill's "Deconstructing Columbus."

**Anarchy #34** (88pp., magazine) [Fall '92] Includes Nick DiSpolito's on prison life and Max Anger on the L.A. Riot.

**Anarchy #35** (84pp., magazine) [Winter '93] Includes M.A. Jaimes' "The Stone Age Revisited" & part 1 of Manolo Gonzalez's "Life in Revolutionary Barcelona."

**Anarchy #36** (84pp., magazine) [Spring '93] Includes Michael William's "Bisexuality" and part 2 of Manolo Gonzalez's "Life in Revolutionary Barcelona."

**Anarchy #37** (84pp., magazine) [Summer '93] Includes Freddy Perlman's "The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism"

and John Zerzan's "Rank and File Radicalism in the KKK of the 1920s."

**Anarchy #38** (84pp., magazine) [Fall '93] Includes "For a World without Morality" from *La Banquise* and "In the Aftermath of the Spanish Civil War" by Manolo Gonzalez.

**Anarchy #39** (84pp., magazine) [Winter '94] Includes John Zerzan's "Time and Its Discontents," Manolo Gonzalez on "The Aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, Pt.2" & Neal Keating's "Rioting & Looting as a Modern Potlatch."

**Anarchy #40** (100pp., magazine) [Spring/Summer '94] Includes Michael Williams "The Ecology Montreal Party: A Libertarian Frankenstein," Anders Corr's interview on "Nonmonogamy," & libertarian fiction by Lorna McLaughlin, Marc Sherman & Doug Bolling.

**Anarchy #41** (84pp., magazine) [Winter '95] Special issue on "Individualism," includes the Bibliothèque des Emeutes' "On Max Stirner," excerpts from For Ourselves' "The Right to Be Greedy," & Doug Imrie on "The Illegalists."

**Anarchy #42** (84pp., magazine) [Fall '95] Includes Hakim Bey's "Primitives & Extropians," Paul Simons' "New Model Army," Octavio Alberola on the revolt in "Baja California."

**Anarchy #43** (64pp., magazine) [Spring/Summer '97] Includes John Zerzan's "Running on Emptiness" Bob Black on Bookchin & Laure Akai's "In Search of the Unabomber."

**Anarchy #44** (84pp., magazine) [Fall/Winter '97-8] Includes Len Bracken on "Guy Debord in Paris, '68," & Paul Simons' new afterword for Zerzan's *Elements of Refusal*.

**Anarchy #45** (84pp., magazine) [Spring/Summer '98] Includes Brian Morris on "Anthropology & Anarchism," an interview with Manolo Gonzalez, & John Zerzan on "Reification."

**Anarchy #46** (84pp., magazine) [Fall/Winter '98-9] Includes Charles Reeve's "Unemployed Struggles in France," & Reeve & Deneuve's "Behind the Balaclavas of the Mexican Southeast."

**Anarchy #47** (84pp., magazine) [Spring/Summer '99] Includes part 1 of Michael William's "Collapse of the Ecology Montreal Party," & Paul Simons on "The Paris Commune."

**Anarchy #48** (84pp., magazine) [Fall/Winter '99-2000] Features a discussion on "Post-Left Anarchy" by Alex Trotter, Lawrence Jarach, John Zerzan and Manolo Gonzalez."



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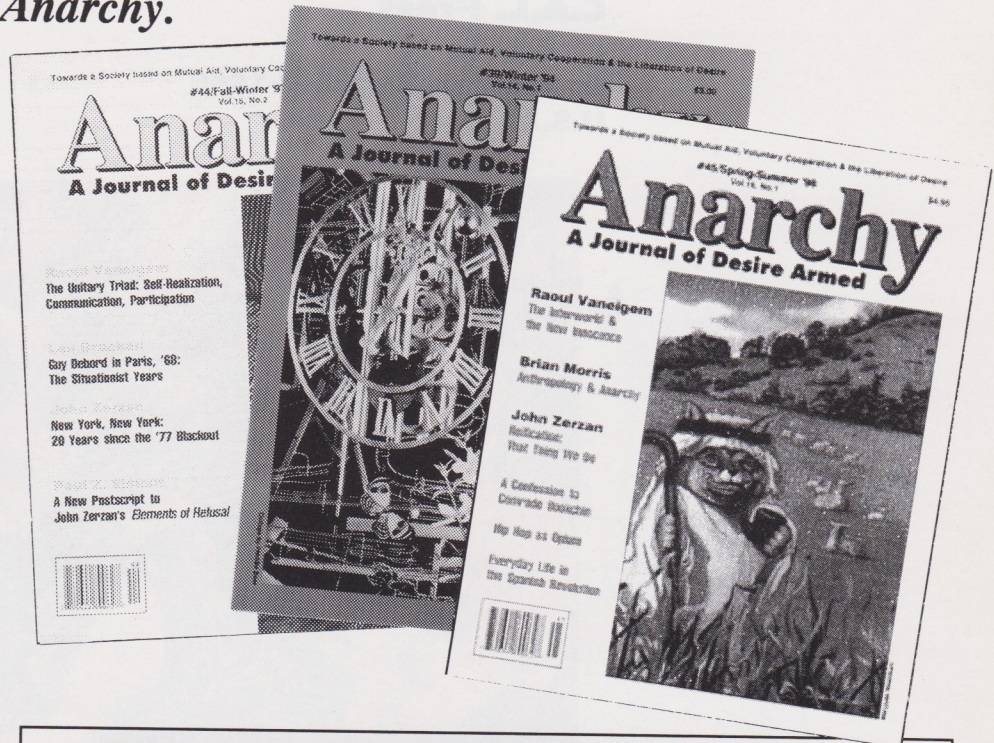


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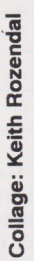
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